

AN

ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE OF IRELAND,

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE PROJECTED

UNION.

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BY THOMAS GOOLD, ESQ.

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" YOU ARE AT POINT TO LOSE YOUR LIBERTIES,  
" MARCIUS WOULD HAVE ALL FROM YOU."

CORIOLANUS.

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DUBLIN:

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*A D D R E S S ,   &c.*

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**T**HERE are certain conjunctures in which it is imperative on every individual to contribute his mite, whether bodily or intellectual, to the service of the State. The machinations of interested ambition, working upon a profligate facility of corruption, are but ill combated by the quiescent consciousness of patriotism and integrity. There is no contest so unequal as that between the exertions of vice and the indolence of virtue. A sentiment of honest alarm is as much to be revered, as a pusillanimous fear is to be despised. The one is the result of every thing that is noble, the other of every thing that is pitiful in the human heart. The vigilance to guard, and the anxiety to preserve it, are no mean attestations to

the goodness of any human institution. The constitution of any country must be contemptible and precarious, where the slightest menace will not put hosts of its people in the immediate posture of defence. The constitution of this country has little to dread from open undisguised hostility; such a species of warfare tends naturally to unite even a divided people in a common cause: the united people of Ireland are invincible. No minister on earth will ever entertain the project of forcing the people of this island to be the sturdy, unwilling slaves of oppression; such a measure might terminate in the disgrace and ruin of the assailant. A policy more mean and mischievous has suggested, that those whom force could not subdue, treachery might sacrifice. No minister, however daring, will promise himself much from the deficiency of our courage, or the inferiority of our strength; we never can be the victims of his power, however we may be the dupes of his artifice. In no point of view, however, can Ireland be lost but by Ireland. As the exertions of power are to be repelled by force, so are the expedients of cunning to be defeated by detection: in such cases, the sword and the pen are alike instruments of defence. I do not flatter myself that my abilities could be of any serious use on a question of much difficulty and delicacy:



delicacy : but sure I am that feelings such as mine, conceived, not in any abject terror of authority, nor in any faucy turbulence of faction, and delivered with the decency and spirit which becomes a freeman, are no despicable ingredients in a good cause. If I mistake not, my motives never can be misconstrued: it is never difficult to distinguish between the kindness of friendship, and the officiousness of interference. Without any further preface or apology, I shall proceed to state to you my opinions on the question of an incorporating legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

It may not be inexpedient or unentertaining to give in this place an anecdote of undoubted authenticity. It is mentioned by Dalrymple, in the third volume of his Memoires, last quarto edition, appendix, page 48, and is in the following words :

#### A N E C D O T E.

“ It was intended in April, in the year 1776,  
 “ that the late Earl of Rochford, with whom I  
 “ had the honour to live more like a brother than  
 “ a friend, should succeed the Earl of Harcourt  
 “ in the government of Ireland.

“ Lord Rochford shewed me his Majesty’s note  
 “ about it, and said he had asked time from his  
 “ Royal Master to consider. He told me his rea-

“ son for doing so was, that as continual resi-  
 “ dence in Ireland for three years, was the un-  
 “ derstood condition of his going there, he could  
 “ not submit at his age to so long an exile, unless  
 “ he could do some great good there, and get  
 “ some great fame : that two objects occurred to  
 “ him ; the one to procure a repeal of the penal  
 “ laws against Roman Catholics, and the other  
 “ to bring about an Union with England ; that  
 “ both seemed visionary, and yet he could not  
 “ get them out of his head ; that the dearest  
 “ friend he had in the world was Lord Harcourt,  
 “ and that he would be obliged to me if I would  
 “ go over to Ireland, let Lord Harcourt know the  
 “ offer which he (Lord Rochford) had got, his  
 “ hesitation, and his two views, and receive  
 “ Lord Harcourt’s opinions and reasons upon  
 “ those views, which could be better done by  
 “ conversation than by letters. When I delivered  
 “ my letter to the Lord Lieutenant, he smiled,  
 “ and said, a Nassau may do in this country  
 “ what I cannot, and Rochford is open and frank,  
 “ and will please the Irish ; but what you came  
 “ about requires much talking over.—I staid a  
 “ week with him in the country ; with regard to  
 “ the penal laws, he thought there was not much  
 “ difficulty, that the Roman Catholics were all  
 “ on the side of England, and of the King of  
 “ England

“ England, in the American war, and that very  
 “ good use might be made of them in the course  
 “ of it; and there are men now living, high both  
 “ in church and state, who may remember the  
 “ conversations on that head, and that they  
 “ thought as he did. But with regard to the  
 “ other object, Lord Harcourt thought there  
 “ were great difficulties, yet perhaps not  
 “ unfurmoutable.—When two men open their  
 “ minds freely, and give their lights to each  
 “ other in conversation, it is difficult to say on  
 “ what side thoughts and opinions originate, and  
 “ still more difficult, at the distance of ten years,  
 “ to recollect them. But the impressiion of my  
 “ mind at present of Lord Harcourt’s opinion is,  
 “ that to attempt an Union with Ireland in time  
 “ of war was insanity, notwithstanding its having  
 “ succeeded in Scotland at such a time:—that  
 “ the minds of the Irish must be long prepared,  
 “ for which purpose Government should take the  
 “ assistance of the best writers of the nation on  
 “ both sides of the water, to point out the ad-  
 “ vantages of the Union in different lights to  
 “ different men, and should, in the mean time,  
 “ treat Ireland with a kindness and confidence  
 “ which she well deserved; that no Union should  
 “ be attempted, unless the wish for it came from  
 “ the side of Ireland, and even then unless there  
 “ were

“ were a sufficient body of troops there to keep  
 “ the madmen in order, and the troops Irish, and  
 “ not English; that the two great objections to it  
 “ were, loss of money by the absentees, and loss  
 “ of importance, by diminishing the number of  
 “ peers and commoners, if a representation should  
 “ take place to the united Parliament, as was  
 “ done in Scotland: but there was a way to ob-  
 “ viate both objections by one measure—The  
 “ measure was, that the rights of the peers,  
 “ counties, and boroughs of Ireland, should con-  
 “ tinue as they were, but that only one third, in  
 “ rotation, should attend the united Parliament,  
 “ and he who did not choose to attend, should  
 “ have power to name one, from amongst the other  
 “ members, in his place, by which all the men  
 “ of parts or fortune (the only persons who ought  
 “ to attend Parliament) would be almost always  
 “ sure of a seat, and the representation of Ire-  
 “ land would at that time have consisted of about  
 “ 40 peers and about 100 commoners.

“ When I reported these things to Lord Roch-  
 “ ford, he said, ‘ all this is too long an affair for  
 “ me,’ and declined the honour which his Sove-  
 “ reign intended for him.”

“ Since that time the Duke of Richmond has  
 “ thrown out an idea to the public, that the Parlia-  
 “ ment of the three nations should be held frequently  
 in



“ in Dublin, by which I presume, his Grace meant  
 “ in regular succession of time, and only in time of  
 “ peace, because in time of war it would be impro-  
 “ per to remove Government from the vicinity of  
 “ intelligence.

“ There is not only fairness to Ireland, but depth  
 “ of policy, because Government then knowing all  
 “ its subjects of condition, and all its subjects know-  
 “ ing each other, would be wound through and  
 “ round his Majesty’s dominions.

“ The ancient Greek Legislators who certainly  
 “ were the wisest that ever lived, because they made  
 “ politics in the abstract a science, saw well the con-  
 “ sequences of the chain, when under pretence of  
 “ contributing to the amusement of the people, they  
 “ assembled all Greece at regular times at the pub-  
 “ lic games.

“ There are two objections to his Grace’s plan ;  
 “ one is want of accommodation in Dublin for the  
 “ numerous English Members of the Legislature ;  
 “ the other, the fatigue of transporting themselves ;  
 “ but it would be better to lay out a million of mo-  
 “ ney in erecting houses in Dublin, to accommodate  
 “ the members of the Legislature, than to be laying  
 “ out one hundred, or perhaps two hundred mil-  
 “ lions, to conquer Ireland, or be conquered by her.

“ And with respect to the important point of per-  
 “ sonal fatigue, Archibald, Duke of Argyle, who  
 lived

“ lived to the age of near ninety, in the full enjoy-  
 “ ment of health and faculties, used to say, that all  
 “ the Peers of England, might do like him, if they  
 “ would make a journey twice in the year of 500  
 “ miles without stopping.”

Three strong observations, in my mind, flow from the existence of the fact established by this anecdote : First, that the measure of an incorporating Union was conceived more than twenty-three years ago ; secondly, that the idea first originated from the Crown or the British Cabinet ;—and thirdly, that it was considered, even at that time, a point of great magnitude to Great Britain.

The details of this curious anecdote offer to the contemplative mind, many subjects of curious speculation—The project was reckoned nothing less than visionary !—The achievement of it, the ground of great glory—And why ? In the year 1776, the people of this country were poor and dependent ; in the year 1776, the people of Great Britain were rich and powerful, and in comparison with their present state. unencumbered.—The Union, at that time, might have had the appearance at least, of a boon offered by a magnanimous nation, to a distressed, wretched, and oppressed people.—Why then was it reckoned visionary ? Why was the achievement of it an object of such glory ?

glory?—Because even then, and for centuries preceding, a British Minister dared not attempt to awe us, because even then, a British Minister little thought he could be able to cajole us.—Visionary! I say, because any project whether of terror, or of artifice, would have met its merited doom, in the spirit and understanding of the united people of Ireland.—But at that period and previous thereto, we could not be called a free people, therefore the British Minister might the more easily have carried the measure, if it had been a serious and important object to him; we were not in fact a free people—granted—But who dares to tell me, that the spirit of liberty was at any time annihilated in this land? It felt and moved not—it listened and spoke not—in its apparent silence and inaction, it retained the vital principles of speech and motion.—Was it time that it should speak and move? Its voice was heard, and its motions were seen.—It descended from its obscure retreat, it came forth from the smoaky hut of the impoverished peasant, with augmented glory and splendor—it traversed the land, with the angelic motion and language of peace; it was ready to assume the tone and march of war;—it was willing to negotiate; it was ready to lead its warriors into the field of battle;—it wished to remonstrate; it was ready to assert.—The olive was  
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preferred, and in the year 1782, the freedom of Ireland was recorded.—The spirit that acquired, is able to maintain ; the dæmon of discord has deformed its features ; it has not altered its essence ; it waits the attuned harmony of invocation, to listen with joy and with effect, to descend once more into our plains, and re-assert our rights.—It wants but the co-operation of its own children, to make an object that was visionary in 1776, impossible in 1799 ; to annihilate the project, or perpetuate its epithet.

In the enumeration of the difficulties attendant on a measure of such magnitude to the empire, and such danger to the common constitution, it is curious to observe, that not one word is mentioned, of any obstruction the measure might receive, from the British Parliament or the British people. Nor is it less curious to note the different means proposed by different Statesmen, to attain the same end.—In the year 1776, to attempt the Union in time of war was insanity ; in the year 1799, time of war, the very period fixed on by the British Minister ;—in the year 1776, the minds of the Irish must be *long* prepared ; in the year 1799, the Irish people taken by surprize ;—in the year 1776, the best writers to be employed at both sides of the water ; in the year 1799, only one writer employed, and that a man deficient in ability, and of  
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known and tried profligacy of principle.—In the year 1776, the advantages of the Union were to be pointed out to different men in different lights. In the year 1799, not a single advantage pointed out to any man, save the mournful pretext of burying a false and personal alarm in the ruins of the Constitution.—In the year 1776, Ireland was to be treated with kindness and confidence. In the year 1799, or rather previous thereto, (for I mean not to arraign the conduct of the present Viceroy) Ireland treated with harshness and distrust.—In the year 1776, no Union to be attempted unless the wish for it came from the side of Ireland. In the year 1799, not a single suggestion to that effect, made by any, even the most contemptible body in the community.—The only point on which these different æras touch, is in the strength of the troops, held necessary to carry the measure, and even here, there exists a difference of great consequence and moment.—In the year 1776, the troops were to be Irish; in the year 1799, they are for the most part British.

Can any *Irishman* read this short and simple abstract, without emotions of horror and indignation? Is this devoted country to be the sport of a British minister, through every modification of policy, and every gradation of crime? Have not 600

years been a sufficient trial of our submission, our patience, our forbearance? Is year after year to roll over our heads, only for the purpose of making us subjects of experiment and objects of ambition? Are we to be connected with Great Britain, only through the medium of such degradation and disgrace? I have yet a confidence, that the attempt at our ruin may prove the working of our salvation.

With respect to the plans of representation, suggested by Lord Harcourt, and the Duke of Richmond, I have nothing to do. The first seems vicious; the other is I am sure chimerical. The first retains with numerous additions, &c. all the vices of the old system. The principle of the latter, as far as it goes, seems fair, but the measure is absolutely impracticable. If I am to be stript of the only guarantee of my liberty, (an independent legislature) I care not what the terms, or the plan may be. I would rather submit to the uncontroled conditions of a conqueror, than become a slave on terms of my own making. I would rather suffer by misfortune, than prosper by disgrace. I would rather be the victim of power, than the slave of negotiation. I may fall a sacrifice to authority, I never shall be the suicide of my own rights. I may be taken captive in the field of battle, but I will not basely surrender, without the honorable effort of a struggle.

struggle. I had rather die a freeman, than live a slave.

I dwell the more on this anecdote, because I feel that, in a small compass, it furnishes volumes of useful instruction, to the people of Ireland. It establishes beyond the possibility of contradiction, a plan of operations, a system of darkness and dexterity, to carry this measure. It establishes beyond a doubt, the opinion then entertained, in the British cabinet, of the spirit and good sense of the Irish nation, which would have made an encroachment on its then nominal constitution, a measure of certain difficulty and great danger. It destroys any argument built on the unforeseen situation of public affairs. It accounts for a system, to which our recent misfortunes are alone attributable.— This plan of Union might, with some industry, be traced much farther back, than the year 1776. I believe there are men now living, who well remember, that this very measure of an incorporating Union was a favourite object of the late Earl of Chatham, and that particularly in the year 1763, he often mentioned it, as a matter of great benefit and importance to Great Britain \*, and that he form-

\* This anecdote I have from a gentleman, of much worth and respectability, who for many years had the honor of representing in the Parliament of Ireland, an independent county.

ed to himself the hope of carrying the measure, by means of the Catholics, and that his *avowed* object was an object of taxation. Yes! our country is to have the honor of being united, for so disinterested and beneficial a purpose—Taxation!—aye! there's the rub—aye! there's the simple solution of all this mystery, this darkness, this silence, this cunning, this caution, this perseverance, this treachery, this corruption, this coercion, this discord, this civil war, this rapine, this blood—yes!—Revenue!—That single word lost America—That single word may lose Ireland. What was the scheme of Lord North, at the commencement of the American war? disunite the Colonies, (said he) and they must become an easy conquest.—His measures however counteracted his principle—He gave the Americans a year's notice of the project of the Stamp Act.—The sparks of discontent communicated to each other, and before the time expired, America was in a conflagration. What has been the conduct of the immaculate Minister, at the head of his Majesty's councils? Disunite the people of Ireland, and she must fall, Great Britain must have her. In her state of division and weakness, present to her any measure even of destruction, and she will accept it.—In the paroxysm of her fever, she will take poison for her medicine. Oh! wicked

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ed detestable policy! thou hast but too well succeeded. Alas! we have been divided. God grant that in running from one another, we may not meet in the arms of our common murderer. No—my prophetic heart tells me, we shall not. My prophetic heart tells me, that I was not born to weep over the departed liberties of my country.

It is I think a matter of very curious observation, that this country should have existed in a connexion with Great Britain, for six hundred and twenty-six years, and never should have thought of a measure of so much utility and importance to it. It is strange, that through every species of insult, oppression, and misfortune, it never should have occurred to it, to raise itself into a situation of grandeur and opulence, by being a part of a great kingdom, in the full participation of all its advantages, whether political, constitutional, or commercial, and that too, at a time, when such an Union might have been speciously stated, as one, with unincumbered growing riches and prosperity—Independent of the intrinsic merits or demerits of any measure, I think I am warranted in disbelieving beneficial effects, when I am certain of corrupt and selfish motives. It is no difficult matter, to make any individual or any nation, sensible of its own interests;—it is  
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the topic of all others, which nations, as well as individuals, listen to with the greatest attention, and on which they are the more easily convinced.—The understanding, which on other occasions is Bœotian, is Newtonian on this.—The feelings that seem annihilated to other pursuits, are quick and penetrating on this. In short, I am very apt to doubt the wisdom of a measure, that takes above six hundred years to discover; and sure I am, that I should suspect the sincerity of an offer, which it required great dexterity to manage.—Is it then in the nature of things, that caution and secrecy are so necessary to the administration of friendship? or that long and anxious solicitations and industry are to be employed to make men accept a kindness? That much ability is to be exerted to make men understand, and much influence used to make men act up to their real interests.—Either this proposition is the result of disinterested friendship, or it is not.—If it is, then why employ all the artifices of refined policy, to make us understand, and feel it in that light. If it is not, then, I say it should in *limine* be scouted, with heavy execrations on the villain's head, that could assume the tone of protection, for the purpose of oppression, that could put on the sacred garb of friendship, for the purpose of making a victim instead of a friend.

How



How often have we asked each other, in the course of the last three years, what object the British minister could have had, in scattering British troops over the surface of our territory. How often have we asked each other, if the British minister could entertain a project of wresting from us our constitution. How often have we communicated to each other, our jealousies, our suspicions, our alarms. How often have I myself told many of you in conversation, that the British minister never would be satisfied, until he dragooned you into this very measure. How often have your friends told you, that your unhappy dissensions, and religious feuds, were not the workings of your own natures or your own hearts; but were the wicked contrivances, of a narrow, interested, and vindictive policy. How often are you to be told, that the minister (whom his friends dignify with the epithet of unbending) could never forget, or forgive, your high spirited conduct on the propositions. Do you think he has forgot your conduct on the regency? Are you still incredulous? Are you still to enquire, why 40,000 British soldiers, in British pay have been at different times, and under different pretexts, poured into the fair bosom of your country? Look to the language of Lord Harcourt in the year 1776, his private, confidential, mysterious,

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conspiracy

conspiracy language.—No—says he, it would be insanity to attempt the measure, *without a sufficient body of troops*. Look to the conduct of the British minister in 1799. Ask yourselves are these things well intended? Ask yourselves, was it well done to seduce some, to frighten others, into a state of reciprocal rancour and animosity? Believe me, it could only be for the purpose of making you the easy victims of premeditated, cunning, or preconcerted violence. If British troops be necessary for us, it is only for protection and not oppression. Let us recover from our fright, let us breathe from our misfortunes, and if in the moment of cool deliberative judgment, this measure shall appear for our advantage, let us in God's name embrace it.—But no—the British minister is impatient; he is afraid to risque the verdict of your judgments; he is much better satisfied, with the result of your fears and your calamities.—He knows he has no other ground to stand on—take from him the bayonet, and our own alarms, and his system crumbles into dust.

With what truth and eloquence have I myself heard this man declaim, in the British Senate, against the encroachments of the Great Nation (as they impiously call themselves) on their innocent unoffending neighbours, when he himself was conscious, that at that very moment, his hellish  
agents

agents were at work, to undermine the liberties of Ireland. With what effrontery can he of all men, brand any nation with the epithets of wanton hostility, and treacherous friendship, *he*, I say, who has by the artifices of a mean and wicked policy, worked us to the brink of the precipice, and who having got us there, would with unrelenting unrepining tyranny commit us to our destruction. The farther removed that any Acts of Parliament are, from even the appearance of a military force, the more are they consistent with the genuine principles of a free constitution. But when it is a question of our existence as a nation, who is it that will say, that time of war, time of public calamity, time of fright and alarm, should be the season fixed for its discussion. Who is it that will not say, that on so tremendous a question as this, the decision should not only be, but should appear to be, extricated from every suspicion of force and violence. Look to your own written and unwritten laws, and see whether I am not right. As the friend, the decided friend of the monarchy, I caution ministers against the enactment of a measure, in such troubled times, and under such suspicious and portentous circumstances. Let me tell them that in a country like this, a vital, or rather a deadly act, passed in the middle of war, in the centre of a tremendous military

force, under the influence of immediate personal danger, cannot be reckoned salutary in its nature, or permanent in its duration.—Let me tell them in the language of an immortal man, that in a country like this, there are no laws that are fit for our Legislature to give, or our people to receive, but the “unarmed laws of a free people.”

Many more, and perhaps important observations, suggest themselves to me, on the different topics of this anecdote.—I might say much with respect to the Catholic claim; I might plead their uniform and unshaken loyalty, in this anecdote strongly noticed, through the most trying, afflicting, and heart-breaking circumstances, as good grounds for the further emancipation of that body. I might dwell at some length, on that part of the anecdote, which recommends the troops to be employed for the purpose of carrying this measure (for you have seen that troops were considered a *sine qua non* of its accomplishment) to be Irish and not English.—I might suspect the goodness of a cause, which by the confession of the Men in Power, demanded the assistance of the ablest writers in both countries.—I might dwell with some effect upon the term *madmen* used in this anecdote—I might with good reason ask who are meant by that designation—I might enquire if rebellion was either brooding or afloat in 1776—I  
might

might remind you that the associated societies of United Irishmen are of many years later growth—I might without much exaggeration hint to you, who those madmen were—I might without overleaping the bounds of belief, tell you that those madmen were you—yes—the people of Ireland. In short, there is not a topic, in this curious and interesting anecdote, that would not furnish materials for a volume. Let the people of Ireland think on them, and they will not think in vain.

With what little reason, the Union of Scotland is mentioned as an argument for such a measure in this country, may be easily seen by examining that measure with a little attention. In order to make analogy a ground of probability, it should appear, that there existed a similarity of pre-existing circumstances, as also a probability at least of similar effects from similar causes.—It should appear, that certain effects have happened, and that they necessarily resulted from the stated causes.—With respect to the similarity of pre-existing circumstances, I maintain it, that there never were two countries more differently situated, than were Scotland in the year 1706, and Ireland in the year 1799.—The population of Scotland was about that time 1,700,000—I admit De Foe makes it about two millions, but Templeton and Brakenridge make 1,500,000, so that perhaps the truth



truth lay between.—The population of England was about 6,500,000.—The Scotch had no trade whatever, nor any manufactures.—Their constant warfare with so thin a population, diverted their thoughts from agriculture.—Their constitution and laws were not the admiration of the world. Their situation necessarily exposed them to the inroads of their interested ambitious neighbours ; and yet with all these disadvantages, every effort at an Union, from the reign of Edward the First, until its accomplishment in 1707, proved ineffectual : nor would it then have been carried, had not the Union of the two Crowns given a more easy and constitutional access to the measure, than former times afforded.—Add to this brief statement what appears to me to be the greatest ingredient in the consideration of this question, viz. the amount of the national debt of England, which was at the commencement of the negotiations for an Union, upon a rough calculation that I have made, about 20 millions ; for on the 31st December 1701, the national debt amounted only to 16,394,701l. 1s. 7¼d.

Let us now see, what is the situation of Ireland in the year 1799.—Its population is five millions ; its commerce extensive, incredibly so, considering the date of its emancipation.—I go farther, I say it is as great as it ought to be, consistent with its

true

true interests ; of that by and by ; its manufactures not inconsiderable ; its linen manufacture magnificent ; its territory so highly improved, that it not only supplies its own inhabitants, but sends its supplies to the British markets, and actually gives them subsistence for three months in the year.—(I do not, however, mean to say that on this subject much is not yet to be done)—Our constitution and laws the same as those of England.—The interposition of the sea, a barrier of defence, if such were necessary—a connexion with Great Britain, of the truest and most permanent nature—a connexion of common interests—an uninterrupted harmony—a willingness to enter into the views of Great Britain, and an eagerness to support them to the best of our abilities,—and lastly, the debt of Ireland 12 millions—the debt of Great Britain 500,000,000.

Let any man read with attention the history of the first years of this century, and I am certain he will feel, that the Union with Scotland, supported by the ablest writers and statesmen, was the substitute for extermination.—Let me give here the words of one of the advocates for the Union in Scotland—“ Let (says De Foe) those who oppose  
 “ the Union, and still refuse to own the advantages of it, look back upon the years of blood,  
 “ and the terrible devastations these two sister  
 nations



“ nations suffered, in the days of their separation ;  
 “ let them examine the history of the past ages, let  
 “ them enquire there for the particulars of 314  
 “ battles, and calculate the blood of a million  
 “ of the bravest men in Europe, lost in the sense-  
 “ less feuds of these two nations ; let them view  
 “ the spoils of the borders not yet repaired, the  
 “ monuments of the nobility slain in the field,  
 “ which yet remain ; let them visit the ruined  
 “ castles, the demolished fortifications, the de-  
 “ populated towns, the gentlemens seats left in  
 “ heaps which yet appear”—All these, says he,  
 “ more than compensate for the *disadvantages* of  
 “ the Union.”—And indeed, there was some wis-  
 dom and much of humanity in the thought—But  
 is there any man who can be hardy enough to as-  
 sert, that there is one single circumstance of pre-  
 existing similarity, which might have made an  
 Union necessary for Scotland in 1705-6, that can  
 make it expedient for Ireland in the year 1799?—  
 So much for pre-existing circumstances.

I should little think of carrying the arguments  
 of the supposed analogy farther, but that I find  
 much stress is laid on it by all the advocates for an  
 Union.—They trumpet forth the mighty advan-  
 tages of the Union to Scotland, they ascribe its  
 situation as a situation of unexampled prosperity  
 and grandeur, and this they wholly ascribe to the  
 measure

measure of an incorporating Union.—They tell you of the high price of land in Scotland, and they make that a circumstance on which the nation's prosperity and welfare is clearly ascertained. I am one of those who on great political or constitutional questions, cannot give credit to the bare assertions of any man, much less of him who finds it his interest, and makes it his employment, to misrepresent any thing, and every thing for the worst purposes.—I have endeavoured both by reading and personal enquiry, to make myself acquainted with the situation of Scotland, and I find it such, as belies the statement made by the advocates of an Union. If I wished to be ascertained of the prosperity and welfare of any nation, I should look to those grand cardinal points on which essentially depend the happiness of any people, and by which alone that happiness can be ascertained.—What is the reason that, with rather a more extensive territory than Ireland, the population of Scotland has scarcely increased since the Union?—The statistical survey does not make it exceed 1,700,000.—What is the reason that its fisheries have been so grossly neglected \*?—What is the reason that

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\* In the northern counties and islands of Scotland are reckoned 4,528,000 acres, and the population in 1795 was computed to

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its commerce, which is of ninety-two years standing is insignificant, when compared with the commerce of this country, which is not more than nineteen years old?—What is the reason, that its inhabitants are found to fill a great proportion of the ranks of Great Britain, and that some of its ablest inhabitants are the great captains of foreign States?—What is the reason that in points of civil liberty it is a country to be mentioned only with sorrow?—Alas! the want of a local superintending legislature (the only real nursery of a free State,)—the only durable source of glory and prosperity to any country;—that exclusive guardianship, and management of the rights, interests, and welfare of a free people,—

be 137,754 souls, which is near 38 acres to each individual, or about 20 souls to a square mile. In the kingdom of Naples the general population is reckoned to give 303 souls to a square mile, supported by the fertility of the territory. The land in the northern part of Scotland is greatly inferior to that of the kingdom of Naples in point of fertility; but this inferiority is fully compensated by the superior fertility of the seas in furnishing subsistence to man; therefore the improvement of the fisheries by the establishment of large maritime towns may render the lands in those parts of the island capable of supporting a population equal to that of the kingdom of Naples, that is, would increase the number of their inhabitants to near a million and an half, and the value of the lands in a proportionable degree.—*Essential Wealth of Nations.*

for I say it is impossible that an Imperial Legislature can be the best judge, or the most sanguine promoter, of local interests and concerns.—I forbear to state the various encroachments, that have been so notoriously made upon the articles of the Union.—Let me however mention here two facts, which I have from a gentleman of extensive information, and undoubted veracity.—If I am wrong in the statement, let me be contradicted, and I undertake to prove it. About nine or ten years ago, the distillers of Edinburgh entered into an agreement with the present British minister, that they should be excised in proportion to the size of the vessels.—This branch of manufacture they carried on with such spirit and success, as to awaken the jealousy of their English neighbours.—The latter remonstrated with Mr. Pitt.—Their remonstrances had their due effect, and the distilleries of Edinburgh have fallen to nothing.—Again.—Magnesia is made, or may be made, of the refuse of the salt-works. The Scotch manufacturers were able, by their industry and spirit, to undersell the English manufacturers. These latter got alarmed. The same kind of remonstrance to the same Mr. Pitt.—General directions were given, to put a stop to this manufacture on any plausible grounds ;

the old and obsolete law books were searched—an old statute, prohibiting the sale of bittern out of the salt vessels, was found, insisted on, and the manufacture perished. Add to all these, the present state of civil liberty in Scotland—not more than 2000 voters in all Scotland, and half of these nominal superiorities—*i. e.* having a right to vote without any property whatever, a kind of incorporeal hereditament, the mischievous and abominable privileges of the Royal Boroughs, for the oppression of the people in their vicinage.—All, all these I say, have convinced my poor understanding that however the Union of Scotland might have been necessary at the time, Scotland has no reason to boast of any solid national advantages necessarily derived from it. I admit that there is no part of the world where lands sell so high as in Scotland. I know estates sometimes sell for forty years purchase—but this instead of cause of exultation, is in my mind, a symptom of national calamity. The price of land in any country, depends on the quantity of lands and money at the market. In all great commercial countries, there is always an extensive and rapid transfer of territorial property. In Scotland the quantity of land at the market is very trifling, whilst the quantity of money of *individuals*, who have made fortunes,



*not in Scotland, but particularly in the East Indies,* together with a most amiable attachment, that to this day a Scotchman feels for his country, tend to raise the price of land in that country, greatly beyond its intrinsic value.

Although the legislatures of Scotland and England have been incorporated, yet I deny that it has followed from thence that England and Scotland have been incorporated,—such an effect can never be the work of man. To produce such an effect, both nations should have been melted down and reformed, and regenerated and reshaped into a common empire, with common interests, common objects, and common affections. Why are English and Scotch animosities proverbial unto this hour?—Why do the English theatres teem with ridicule and severity on this (I shall call them) brave, generous, enlightened, hospitable, feeling people? These are facts not to be denied. An Act of Parliament, to which God's attribute has been most impiously applied, has not been able to extinguish long habits, lasting animosities, mortal antipathies, and sturdy and inveterate prejudices. The great misfortune of Scotland, I say, is, that it has been an added, and never has been an incorporated country. When countries have been long separated,

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and have for centuries on centuries, entertained reciprocal notions of jealousy and animosity, bitter national animosity;—it is in vain for an Act or Parliament to attempt what only can be accomplished by an Act of God;—it is in vain to resort to the dictates of political wisdom, or the mystery of political witchcraft, to stop or alter the rapid current of nature;—to attempt to modify by Acts of Parliament, the qualities of the human heart;—to take exact measure of the operations of the human understanding. I know of no crucible in nature, I know of none in politics, into which you can throw the incongruous particles of national ideas and affections, and melt and flux them into a common shape, into a beautiful system of harmony in all parts. Hence then, even here, and in this view of the subject, does there to my humble judgment appear a strong objection to a legislative, but not *incorporating*, Union of this country with Great Britain.

Having endeavoured to destroy any argument built on a supposed analogy of circumstances, causes, and effects—Let me now consider the question on its own merits or demerits.—And first, I hold it to be a principle never denied in politics, existing in the physical and moral world, that a change in any condition, which change is the result of volition and design, should come recommended



mended by the following grand leading principle. The thing for which it is changed, should appear incontestably better than the thing changed; and in the consideration of this, the judicious statesman must be ever guided by the following mode of reasoning: 1st, it must appear that the advantages from the change are morally certain; 2dly, that they are so important in their nature, that they countervail the disadvantage of recurring to a change; (an aptitude to which, is in politics particularly to be avoided)—thirdly, that the same or greater advantages cannot be attained without *such* a change, because in the science of politics, all experiments should at first be made in *corpore vili*, and if found inadequate, then, and then only, is a fundamental change warranted;—and fourthly, that the advantages resulting from such a change, are not only certain in their operation, but permanent in their duration.—By the word change, I would be understood to mean a change by which the essence of any thing is altered. — And in the investigation of these propositions, I lay this down as a principle not to be departed from; that the *onus probandi* lies on the advocates for such a change, because it is certainly more incumbent to prove the badness of an institution for its destruction, than its goodness for its preservation

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tion and continuance.—Were the question to rest on this statement, it would be only for the British Minister to speak, and the Irish people to listen, and the decision on the point, would literally be on the day of judgement. As I have however mentioned, that Ireland can only be lost by Ireland, as we have woeful reason to believe, that the system of the British Minister has made no inconsiderable progress among us, as we have also grounds for supposing, that his measure will present itself to the public, in all the specious finery of dress—And as there may be among us some, who will not be satisfied with negative proof, I think it not inexpedient to descend for a while from the 'vantage ground, and I hope to be able to prove, that no specific plan of Union that can be devised, will be immediately or ultimately beneficial to this country.

As no particular plan has been as yet submitted to you, it is impossible to be ascertained of the exact ratio of its disadvantages; but I think that in any stage of this question, I am warranted in laying it down as a fixed and certain principle, that any plan whatever, formed in the British Cabinet, unsolicited by the Irish nation, and managed, and to be accomplished, in the manner I have already mentioned, must contain in itself  
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something, which under all its circumstances, is calculated to be beneficial to Great Britain.—I am also ready to suppose, that for this *real* advantage to be gained by Great Britain, the British Minister will endeavour to put forward many specious grounds of temptation to the Irish nation.—If I am right in my principle, the next consideration is this—If Great Britain is to gain, how and in what manner is such an advantage to be acquired, and next we are to consider this proposition—Is Ireland likely to lose in the point or points on which Great Britain is to gain?—And if so, is Ireland likely to be indemnified for such actual loss, in any other and what points?—To enable us to examine these propositions with effect, we must resort to those grand cardinal points on which the prosperity or decline of any nation can be ascertained; and I conceive that those are:—first, its natural position—secondly, its natural produce—thirdly, its population—fourthly, its agriculture—fifthly, its commerce—sixthly, its manufactures—seventhly, its constitution and laws; and lastly, its revenue and debt. Now, I admit, for the sake of argument, that Great Britain will not be likely to gain in any point, save the last—in other words, save an addition of revenue and diminution of its debt.—It may be said these points may be guarded

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by the *terms*—Then if it is not meant that Great Britain should gain on any point, why agitate the question at all—but this is absurd—I have already shewn that this measure is of long standing; that hitherto it was not dreamt of by the Irish nation, and it necessarily follows that it is considered that Great Britain must gain, and therefore previous terms acting against a manifest principle, are but a wretched flimsy security.—Let us now see how Ireland is to be compensated for yielding a proportionable revenue, or bearing any proportion of Great Britain's debts.—With respect to the two first points, I imagine no courtier will be hardy enough to assert, that an Union will change our geographical position, or alter the nature of our soil—If such even could be the case, the alteration would be most likely for the worse; and here let me take occasion to say, that I consider the position of Ireland and its natural soil, superior to the position and soil of England—We come now to the third point, viz. population—And here I shall state that which can be collected from the most authentic documents.—The population of Great Britain does not amount to ten millions; that of Ireland is at least five millions.—So far back as the year 1788, on a survey made by the hearth-money collectors, the population of Ireland

land exceeded 4,500,000 ; and that estimate proceeded on a calculation of  $6\frac{1}{4}$  to one house—I believe that computation has been reckoned under the truth ; however, it is immaterial, as it appears that eleven years ago, the population of Ireland exceeded 4,500,000.—Is Ireland likely to benefit in this point by an Union with Great Britain ?—The population of any country can only be increased by emigrations from other countries, or improvements within itself—As to emigrations from Great Britain, I hold it the height of absurdity to suppose it, and even if it were to happen, the cause that contributed to it, must operate as a principle, and not as an expedient, and as a principle, it might operate to a great extent, which would ultimately prove the ruin of Great Britain, the population of which, at present, is so far below the proportionate population of Ireland. On the other hand, some emigration from Ireland there must be, from the measure itself, and sure I am, if I can be warranted in arguing this part of the question from a similarity of feelings, the emigration must be considerable indeed. With respect to the second general source of population, I take it there is no part of the œconomy of a free state that so much requires the aid of a local superintending Legislature as this very point. It has been invariably laid down, in all writers



on political œconomy, that no source of national wealth requires so much the fostering hand of local legislation as this:—At all events no one will say that on this head, the situation of Ireland can be *improved* by an imperial Parliament.—The encouragement necessary to be given to agriculture of every description—the necessity or expediency in an infant state of giving drawbacks and bounties, and taking them off, as the case may require;—the improvement of that inexhaustible source of wealth and population, the fisheries—the plans for erecting villages on the sea coasts, as well for these fisheries as for other purposes—all these depending on local circumstances, tending to give local knowledge to the local enquirer; and lastly, that provident care of the purse of the nation, which ought never to suffer it to be plunged over head and ears in debt, and by increasing the difficulty of living, lessen the sources of population.—It is to be remarked, that the population of Great Britain has risen in no great degree these last fifty years, while within the last twenty-five years, the population of Ireland has increased at least one-third. This however is very easily accounted for---The immense debt of Great Britain, of course its heavy taxes on every article of life, whilst it discourages emigration from foreign countries

tries into it, tends also to increase a state of celibacy ; and it has therefore been with much truth remarked, that it has been wonderful that the population of Great Britain has been even stationary for so many years. I own I do foresee that the population of Ireland, if there be an Union, will not increase at the end of twenty years, but will considerably diminish, and without it I am sure it will be considerably augmented.

I come now to the fourth point, viz. agriculture, which I have ever considered the solid, visible, angible, permanent wealth of any nation. How is Ireland likely to be benefited by Great Britain on this head?---Not by the emigration of the British farmers, of British skill and capital in this line, for in the catalogue of advantages held out by the advocates for this measure, this very article of agriculture, the most material of all, has been wholly omitted, either by mistake, or design ; indeed, the situation of many parts of Great Britain for want of agriculture would point those parts out to the wise Statesman, as fitter and more certain sources of wealth created, than uncertain speculations of wealth improved. The agriculture of this country has arisen within the memory of a short life to such a state of comfortable, I might say glowing prosperity, that one naturally  
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might ask to what cause or causes is or are such mighty effects attributable—The answer is short—to your Parliament—to those judicious encouragements and regulations which have been the result of an excellent natural understanding, improved, highly improved by an accurate local knowledge of your country.—Look to your corn laws, and you will scarcely venture on this head to entrust your concerns to imperial legislation.—Since I have mentioned your corn laws, let me also say, that it is by a most honorable association of ideas, I cast my eyes upon a gentleman to whose exertions, knowledge, and industry, the farming interests of Ireland are much indebted. It is with no small degree of satisfaction I have learned, that he is still attached to your interests. I hope the inhabitants of Cork may listen to his opinions.—As to the fifth point, commerce—If England is to gain in point of revenue and in diminution of its national debt, what has it to give in exchange for these, on the ground of commerce—The commerce of any country can be benefited only by its extension and protection—and first as to extension. This can only be effected by the terms of the measure *expressly*, or by the necessary or probable consequences of the measure;—and as to the terms of the measure; what can England expressly give to

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Ireland on that head?—Secondly, is what she can give, an equivalent? In the first place, she cannot *expressly* concede at this hour to Ireland, what Ireland claims of right for itself—the liberty of trading to every part of the world,—save and except to Great Britain.—A very narrow and short-sighted policy, in my humble opinion, prevents open ports between the two countries. By the Union this restriction will be done away; that is, the channel trade alone is the only *express* commercial advantage to be given to Ireland, for an increase of revenue to Great Britain, and perhaps a diminution of its debt.—You will carry with you, that in arguing these several questions, I have only waived for a time, my privilege of affixing incalculable value to our constitution, which with my consent never can be a purchasable commodity.

Let us see what this wonderful advantage of open markets is,—I am speaking here of commerce, I shall speak presently of our manufactures—Well, the British ports are to be thrown open to us. The first question to be asked is, on what articles can the Irish merchants take advantage of this concession.—Our commerce, *i. e.* the articles of our commerce I mean, is either domestic or foreign, either the produce of our own country,  
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or of foreign countries, I am speaking here of the raw materials,—with respect to them, the British ports are open to us already; and I rather think that Great Britain never will be silly enough to shut them against us; for it is not likely that Great Britain will either wish to starve or put herself on short allowance, in order to hurt our commerce. The British people not having corn enough in their own country, must be supplied from some other country; and if Ireland can supply her on better terms than any other country, surely she will not be weak enough to refuse such supply; and if she were, Ireland would find markets enough elsewhere. Corn and the other articles of subsistence never want markets, they are of all articles the surest source of public wealth,—as long as we have corn to sell, so long there will not be wanting purchasers. Now with respect to foreign and plantation produce, our ships freighted with that produce can go direct into the British ports, and surely this advantage (if it be one) we are not likely to lose, for the best of all possible reasons; that it is the interest of Great Britain we should not. If the markets of Great Britain be under-stocked in these articles, these raw materials, surely it is her interest to be supplied by our overplus—and circumstanced as



we are we can supply her on the easiest terms; besides it is to be considered, that independent of the advantages to Great Britain from this occasional supply, the British merchants must gain something, such as storage, brokeridge, commission, &c. given by the Irish to the British merchant. So that on this part of the case I hold it impossible for Great Britain to give *expressly* any thing to Ireland, for the best of all human reasons, having nothing to give. This brings me to the second supposed ground of advantage to our commerce, *i. e.* the *necessary* or probable consequences of the measure.

As on this head I cannot conceive, that the commerce of Ireland can be benefited but by the emigration of capital and population, I think I may with safety assert, that no *necessary* beneficial consequence to Ireland can follow from the Union. Then as to the probable one—In the first place, I think it unlikely that such a consequence should follow, and if it did, I should think it foreboded the ruin of the British Nation. That it will not follow I think I am warranted in saying, not only on the ground of future probability, but past analogy—I am very certain that these very effects were predicted both in and out of Parliament, at the time of our obtaining a free trade and a free  
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constitution; and certainly neither the hopes of the Irish, nor the fears of the English Patriot have been realized. With respect to the *probable* effect arising from cheapness of labor and provisions—I cannot well reckon on it. Sure I am that very few men will leave a successful career of commerce, in a country in which they have lived, and to which they are attached, on the speculation of a more successful career in another country. And indeed, if such were the case, the effect produced would after a little time, destroy the cause or temptation. I have said that, if we could gain in point of commerce, by opening the British markets, such gain would prove the ruin of Great Britain—I shall consider this subject under the head of manufactures, to which I think it more properly belongs, and of which I am now going to speak.

I have endeavoured to shew in a brief manner, how impossible it is for Ireland to benefit by the Union on the ground of commerce. I shall now proceed to consider its interests, as likely to be affected by this measure on the score of manufactures. The argument held out to Ireland is, that its manufactures will be greatly extended by the following means,—by having more markets,—by the infusion of British ability and enterprise,

prize, and British capital. I confess I am one of those who cannot give to manufactures, the weight given to them by some political writers; and sure I am that the result of my enquiries on this subject is, that any endeavours to *force* them in an infant state, is destructive to the highest degree;—therefore it is on the firmest conviction, and after the most mature deliberation, that I agree with Mr. Jefferson, of Virginia, when he states, that “ ’tis for the interest of the American States, that for a long time to come, her manufacturers should reside in Europe.”—Nor is it without good reason and effect that I admire the policy of the United States. The increase of population in the American States from 1790 to 1794, is found by a late census to be 1,321,364 persons. They have wisely avoided recurring to any means by which a revenue might be transferred, or individuals become rich; they have found that the true source of national wealth, the true source of population, is in the ability of the cultivator exercised in the fertility of the soil. Not so with Great Britain, she has been an adult State a prodigious number of years; her admirers think she has not grown old—certainly her age is not gradual in appearance. God forbid, she should experience the fate of a sudden death! What therefore it becomes expedient

for Great Britain to recur to, for the purpose of creating a revenue would be ruin to a country not circumstanced as is Great Britain. The expenditure of Great Britain the last year, is between fifty and sixty millions of money—The whole amount of the rent of England is not more than twenty-two millions.

The whole rent of Great Britain is not able to pay within three millions, the interest of the national debt—In such a situation it is necessary for Great Britain to have recourse to extraordinary means of supply—she must otherwise become bankrupt;—if her debt were not so enormous, sure I am that she would much more benefit by attending less to manufactures, and more to agriculture—And sure I am also that by the judicious management of her waste lands, she would create a greater, more permanent, and more useful revenue, than by the most sanguine success from her manufacturing system. The unenclosed commons and waste lands of Great Britain, capable of cultivation, are supposed to be twenty-two millions of acres—I have made these observations for the purpose of shewing that, even supposing the advocates for a Union right in their positions, yet the thing to be gained is not in the present state of Ireland worth gaining, and that there are other means by which an infant state can gain more essentially, than by  
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the most natural and gradual encouragement of manufactures.

As, however, on this point I am well aware there may be differences of opinion—let me be permitted to consider the question on those grounds thro' which it is presented to the public mind—and first manufactures are either for home or *foreign* consumption.—Now let us see how our manufactures will be advanced on these grounds by an Union—The greater the market, say the advocates for an Union, the greater the sale—First, I deny this as applicable to Ireland, and if it were, it must be ruin to Great Britain—It is I believe very notorious that with all our advantages of cheapness of labour, house rent, provisions, &c. without the expence of freight, insurance, &c. the British manufactures are able to undersell us even in our own markets. As to any hope of our being able to undersell the British manufacturer in his own market, it is the height of chimera—I think I may quote here the words of the present Chancellor of Ireland, in the debate on the propositions: “As to the liberty of sending our manufactures to the British markets, I freely own I have not very sanguine expectations of advantage from it.”—If this effect will not follow, then the argument founded on open markets falls to the ground—And now I am to consider the two other grounds:—emigration  
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tion of British skill and British capital, on which as to the probability of the effect, I have already said something in the preceding pages wherein I treated of commerce—I do maintain it, that when the same skill and capital are employed in different countries ; but where the price of labour, house-rent, provisions, &c. are less in one than in the other, the transfer of that skill and that capital can only be for the purpose of underselling the manufacturer of that country wherein such things are dearer ; if it were otherwise it would be nonsense—And if the British merchant or manufacturer are ever undersold in the foreign markets, much less in their own, national bankruptcy must follow.—Now to put the case to the common understanding of men, in the simplest way my poor abilities can comprehend—Either the Irish merchant or manufacturer will be able to undersell the British merchant or manufacturer, or he will not—Is that plain—Well, if he be not able to undersell him, what advantage on these heads will the Irishman gain by the Union ? If he be able to undersell him, then what are to become of the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain ?—Surely nobody will be so idiotic, as to suppose that foreign nations will continue to purchase from Great Britain, those very commodities with which Ireland could supply them, on so much more advantageous

vantageous terms. I do most roundly assert, that Great Britain is so circumstanced, as not to be able to afford to share with Ireland the slightest portion of her commercial and manufactural monopoly; she never can afford it, she may make bargains with Ireland, but it is impossible that she ever can propose a bargain to Ireland, in which she will not hope to gain. I forbear to mention (as I had intended) the schedule of those articles, on which there are prohibitory duties in the British ports. They are given in the 5th number of the Anti-Union, wherein those questions of commerce and manufactures, are most sensibly and judiciously considered.

As more immediately connected with the topic of commerce, I should have considered the carrying trade, a participation in which is held out to Ireland, as a very serious advantage to be gained by the Union. Now on this head, give me leave to say, that I think we cannot get this trade—I go farther, if we could get it, I maintain it, it would not be for the interest of this country (which I beg of you to have in your recollection, I have through the course of my argument considered as an infant state) to accept it. It is a trade that employs a great number of hands, and a very great capital; but if you will look to the history of the world, you will not find it possessed by any nation,

tion, whose territory yielded them the common necessaries of life ; hence, you find that in early times, the Venetians had it exclusively. The two last centuries it has belonged entirely to the Dutch ; it is only since the war it has been transferred to Great Britain ; it was one of the three sources of Dutch wealth, and it may be considered advantageous to Great Britain, essentially advantageous I mean, only as it is a kind of nursery of mariners. However, it produces to Great Britain a large revenue, but I maintain no real wealth.

Now this trade can be given to Ireland only by creation or transfer.—As to creation, I believe he will be rather a hardy politician who can declare, that an Union will have the effect of *creating* this trade for Ireland, whilst Great Britain shall also retain her own in its full force and vigor. Indeed if any such trade could be *created*, I am inclined to think that Great Britain would not have been without it so long. In fact, Ireland, as to this point, can only gain by the *transfer* ; and perhaps this very word, which is peculiarly appropriated to the subject I am treating of, will enable you the better to understand some of the reasons I have just now given on the subjects of population, commerce, and manufacture. Now in this instance, a transfer of that trade, or of any part of it,

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from Great Britain to Ireland, must be the transfer of so much revenue resource, pro tanto, as is transferred. This must be done expressly, or by operation of causes. If expressly, then I say, that Great Britain can never suffer us to take advantage of it, if we were fools enough to be gulled by her, for two reasons—first, because she never will be inclined to make us so great a sacrifice; and secondly, because if she were so inclined, she could not, consistent with her own existence. And this brings me to consider the abstract nature of a transfer:—it is either gratuitous, or the result of a bargain. That in this instance Ireland can never experience such a gratuity from Great Britain, is, I think, not altogether unnatural to state—first, because Ireland does not stand in need of it; secondly, because if she did, Great Britain could not afford it; and thirdly, because in the course of between six and seven hundred years, I do not find *one single* instance in which Great Britain seemed inclined to assist the commerce of Ireland, on the ground of favor; but I find that, on every occasion and instance, she has endeavoured to resist her advancement, even on the ground of right. Then if this trade, either flowing from express terms, or necessary consequences of arrangement, be the result of a bargain—the next question to be considered



dered is, which of the contracting parties is likely to gain by the bargain? It would be needless here again to repeat the many reasons I have already urged in order to shew how impossible it will be for Ireland immediately or ultimately to gain in any one of these branches, when the very terms on which such imaginary gain may be supposed to rest, are the result of the British cabinet, and unasked by the Irish people; the advantages themselves (if any) uncertain in their extent, not permanent in their duration: whilst the right to tax Ireland by a British Parliament is certain in its power, and only not ascertained as to its extent and grievance. Again, I say, this very carrying trade can be of no use to Ireland, in its present situation, but on the contrary, highly injurious. The carrying-trade is two-fold—either for the purpose of transporting our own commerce, or the commerce of other people; now, with respect to our own commerce—in order to have the carrying trade, we must have the commerce, it would be absurd indeed to have the ships and seamen, without any thing to put into the one, or employ the other; and I maintain it that any country, situated as is Ireland, will always have the means of transporting her own commerce, in proportion as that commerce encreases.—Now with respect to the other

branch



branch of the carrying-trade—I say it would be injurious to Ireland in its present state; and *never* could be of use, but for the purpose of supplying a marine, or raising a revenue for the purpose of paying something towards the interest of an enormous debt, from which situation God protect us, I say. This trade, which transports the produce of foreign nations, employs a great capital, and a great number of hands; that same capital, and that same number of hands, employed to other purposes, would contribute much more to the wealth of the state; and therefore it is that we see that this trade caused one of the three grand sources of Dutch wealth—because a country having no means of employing a capital and immense population on agriculture, must employ it on something else. But even Great Britain cannot be said to gain by this trade, farther than it constitutes a great supply of seamen; for the same capital and the same number of men employed in the cultivation of some of the waste lands, would create a revenue, greater in extent, more permanent in its nature, and of more real general utility, than that arising from a trade which Great Britain herself has only acquired by the present state of affairs in Europe.

Now a word as to the general utility of the influx of British capital, supposing such a thing were likely.—As to this influx, I own I do not reckon much upon it; but supposing that such an event might happen, I am one of those who would affix but little value to it. I have no dependence on the capital, which in an infant state sets industry agoing; much more certain, and more valuable, is the capital acquired by industry, than the capital which it is imagined will create industry. The one is acquired through the gradual and instructive lessons of experience in every particular, and I rather think, that the enjoyment of him who makes a fortune from nothing, is not inferior to that of him who increases a fortune already made. Sure I am, that national capital acquired by the long process of laborious habits, and industry, is much more to be esteemed, than the transfer of triple the amount, from any other country; to acquire capital, I say, in this way, it is necessary not only to have freedom of trade, but freedom of constitution; nay more, that trade is not worth having, the management and controul of which is intrusted to any interference under Heaven but your own. I have all my life laughed at the idea of those, who thought a free trade and a free constitution could be of no use to us without a capital;

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if such could be an argument, Great Britain herself would have remained in eternal infancy ; her friends and admirers would have little reason to dread the decline of her old age, Indeed Dalrymple mentions, on this head, also, a remark worth recording.—(Dal. Me. vol. iii. Appendix 48.)—

“ The common argument, that because the  
 “ Irish have small capital, they will never obtain  
 “ trade, is an argument for children. I once  
 “ asked the late provost Cochrane, of Glasgow,  
 “ who was eminently wise, and who had been a  
 “ merchant there for near seventy years, to what  
 “ cause he imputes the sudden rise of Glasgow?  
 “ He said, it was all owing to four young men of  
 “ talents and spirit, who started at one time in  
 “ business, and whose success gave example to the  
 “ rest.—The four had not ten thousand pounds  
 “ among them, when they began.”

Having applied myself to the consideration of those points on which it might be supposed Ireland might gain, and on which I think she *cannot* gain, and for the elucidation of what I have thought proper to take a short and concise survey of Great Britain and its circumstances—let me now carry the attention of the people of Ireland to those points on which Ireland *must* lose ; and for this purpose, I think it necessary to take again, in this place,

place, a short and concise view of the state of Ireland.. Its position and natural produce stand in no need of any comment. It contains according to the computation of Templeman, 17,536,000 acres. It were absurd to compare here the estimates made by Petty, Davenant, Brackenridge, Halley, &c. I rather think that the number of acres in Ireland is about 18,000,000. Its population, is from the most authentic documents, as well from the census taken in the year 1788, as from the result of the enquiry instituted by the late Gervais Parker Burke, Esq. in the year 1791, at this day, at least 5,000,000 of souls; the number of houses, in this year, appear to be 701,102. The increase both of commerce and manufacture, has, I dare to say, surpassed the most sanguine hopes of the most sanguine patriots; and its national debt amounts only to 12,000,000, the interest of which, calculated at 5 per cent. is but £600,000. This statement of our situation, which cannot be denied, does not, of itself, demand the interposition of any foreign interference for our advancement and prosperity. If our capital be not as great as that of Great Britain, our incumbrances are certainly in proportion infinitely less. Therefore on this view of the question, what can Ireland gain by an Union with Great Britain? To which I answer, nothing,—and have already endeavoured



to prove it. But she must inevitably lose something,—First, in population,—because such must be to certain degrees the *necessary* result of the measure. Secondly, to a greater degree from the probable consequences of the measure. When I speak of emigration here, I do not speak of emigration to Great Britain. The remaining population, independent of their causes, must be restrained by the system of taxation, which will increase the difficulty of living. Again whilst our manufactures and commerce cannot be extended, we must be subject to a certain system for the purpose of raising a revenue; and give me leave to say in this place, that such a taxation will be the more insupportable, in as much as it will precede, and not be the result of, our prosperity. One of the chief reasons which have enabled the people of Great Britain to support their burdens is, that they have been enured to them by gradation; but woe to the unhappy country, that depends for its happiness or prosperity, on the equitable arrangement, or humane forbearance, of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer of Great Britain!

I come now to consider the question of protection, which the advocates for an Union say, we receive from Great Britain, and for which (as one ground of argument) we are called on to surrender

our



our constitution. I am now only speaking of that protection, which the fleets of Great Britain give to our commerce and manufactures, for as to any other protection I hold it out of the case, I am speaking the proud constitutional language of your patriots, Grattan and Flood, not many years back—I say, there is but the shadow of liberty in a State which cannot protect itself. I am here speaking of foreign aggression—I am thankful and grateful for the services of Great Britain, in the moment of our domestic misfortunes—I say then that the State that is not competent to its own protection is competent to claim no one right of a free State—and even on this ground, the history of this country gives a picture that my mind never contemplates but with emotions of rapture. I never have read of the exertions of a brave and generous people, either in the defence of their liberties, or for the recovery of them, that my mind did not make a comparison favorable to the volunteers of Ireland. On the subject then of protection to our commerce and manufactures in time of war—the first argument that suggests itself is, that on principles of natural justice, the nation that causes the danger should give the protection—For certainly on the ground of wars we have not much to answer, unconnected with Great Britain, I do think that on that subject we have  
been

been an unoffending, unambitious people for near seven centuries; but waiving any arguments which might have the appearance of applying itself to the humanity or generosity of any nation, let me take up the question on the more stern ground of right and the more persuasive argument of self-interest: On the ground of right, I say, we are entitled to protection, because near a century and a half since Ireland made a perpetual grant for an Irish marine; this fund England applied to other purposes, and therefore, on that ground is England bound to do in effect what Ireland has long since paid for. Secondly, The very protection by Great Britain is assisted, I may say, in some manner created, by Ireland: Her inhabitants furnish more, much more than a proportionable share of her sailors. But again, waiving the ground of right—which by the bye I hold to be a slippery argument among nations—let us consider the question on the ground of all others, which in all countries, and all times, has withstood the united force of right, humanity, justice, &c.—I mean the argument of self-interest. Either it is the interest of Great Britain, according to our present connection, to protect our commerce, or it is not. If it is, then I say it is absurd that she should be paid for what it is her interest to do; if it be not, then certainly she has the right to withhold it, and we have the right not to assist her. This is separation—granted—if Great Britain

choose it—but I say there is no reason by which the human understanding can be governed, that can allow Great Britain to name the price of the protection—and sooner would I wish to see this country for ever separated from Great Britain, or even sunk in the Atlantic, than that it should be in the power of the British minister to take from us, against our consent, that constitution to which we were originally entitled, of which a barbarous policy deprived us, and which was regained for us, by the glorious exertions of our own people.

Having considered, in their order, the natural questions of population, agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, and as more immediately connected with them, the other questions of taxation and debt, as they would be likely to be affected by an Union; I am next to consider how the constitution of this country, by becoming imperial, would be likely to be affected by such an event—I believe it will hardly be doubted by any man, who has had the history of these countries, particularly from the time in which the Earl of Bute gained such an unnatural ascendancy over the council of the empire, that the prerogatives and influence of the crown have suffered little from parliamentary embarrassment. Indeed the history of the last fifteen years is one continued series of compliance by Parliament with the suggestion of the crown.—Nor has any period of our history

history, in any time, or under any monarchs, shewn such a brilliant majority, as has had the British minister on all occasions. It would be rather too difficult to persuade you that *he* has been always right, and never in the wrong; on the contrary, I might say with some appearance of truth, that the whole system in a great degree appears to be a system of blunders and corrections, concessions and retractions, haughtiness and servility, authority and compliance, meanness and a thirst for power, which he has so dextrously managed, as to connect his own downfall with the downfall of Great Britain:—a stupendous, woeful ambition!

This dreadful event however, may yet be frustrated, the British Minister may find some other burial place than the ruins of his country. It is not impossible that some future parliament may condemn the measures of these times, as they have often done before, and while they censure the conduct of their predecessors, they may vote an impeachment of this immaculate man. Such was the case of the Earl of Oxford, all whose acts were sanctioned by parliament. If ever *this* unhappy country should be restored to its importance, if ever its people yielding to the imperious calls of common interest, and common calamity, shall become a United people, sure, I am, that the conduct of this man, touching the affairs of *our country*, can excite nothing but emotions of indignation, and demand nothing but

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vengeance.



vengeance. Let me however, return to the constitution.

The constitution of Ireland is composed of three estates—the King of Ireland, the Peers of Ireland, and the Commons of Ireland. What is the change by an Union?—A King of Great Britain, the Peers of Great Britain, and the Commons of Great Britain. In vain shall it be stated to me, that one-fifth of a representation in an imperial parliament, will preserve the constitution. 'Tis more than folly, 'tis arch-wickedness to say, that even a proportionate share in an imperial parliament is not an annihilation of your constitution.

Your Commons will be removed from the scrutinising eye of those that created them.—The magnitude of their political errors, like all other things, will be diminished by distance. But suppose you could send one hundred men, as sage as Solomon, and as just as Aristides, into the British parliament, of what avail could be their wisdom and integrity? Can you punish the misconduct of the British Commoner? Is he responsible to you? 'Tis a question of *your* welfare that is agitated; it is proposed by an Irish patriot; it is supported by *all* your members; well, what do you gain by it, if it shall please the British minister, to tell his British minions, it shall not be? Have I put an impossible, an improbable case? Did it ever happen? You know it  
did



did—you know the Scots members to a man, voted against the measure of the malt tax.—What was the use of their unanimous vote? To record the triumph of British profligacy, and Scottish misfortune. Alas! had the Union with Scotland been a treaty, and not an incorporation of legislatures, the breach of it might have restored Scotland to its importance. It would not have had a mockery of representation, to register the power of its neighbour, and its own insignificance.

I tell you again, the moment that *one single member* over whom you have no control, contributes to the enactment of any law, which is to bind your people—that moment I say, the freedom of your constitution is at an end—that moment the essence of your constitution is altered.—Well, your Commons are removed from the wholesome restraint of public opinion, which lives by constant exercise; let it slumber for a moment, and it assumes the morbid shape of death. Again, your House of Lords—a wretched portion of your hereditary nobility are engulfed in the Peerage of Britain.—Is there another Charlemont to plead the cause of Ireland? He stays at home. The British Minister will not have him—the British Minister starts from the approach of so much virtue—he shudders at the infusion of so much worth.—Look at the ministerial lists of the Peers of Scotland! look at that puppet

pet-shew of representation!—all, all set in motion and managed by one single state juggler.—So much for your constitution in the British parliament.—What will the imperial parliament give you? Will the influence of the crown, which for many years has been shaking the buttresses of the constitution, be diminished?—Will the Irish members interfere between the British minister and the imperial people?—Look again to the Scottish elections! Scotland, I say, where ministerial influence suffers not a single interruption or encroachment; where the tranquillity of the electors was not disturbed by the appearance of a single advertisement.—The Union with Scotland has been the *avant-courier* of the destruction of the British constitution; the Union with Ireland will leave nothing of it but the mournful recollection of its glories.—Have the people of England no feeling?—Or will it require the transfer our Irish militia to rouse them from their apathy?—Will *they too* suffer this tremendous weight to be added to the already tremendous power of the influence of the crown?—Will they tamely submit to this external Incubus on every exertion in the cause of liberty? Are *they too* alarmed? Has this mercurial principle laid hold of their understanding too? Has it palsied the pulsation of their hearts?—Will they suffer this abominable flagitious minister hereafter to laugh at the landed interest of England?

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land?—Will they suffer him to perpetuate the principle by which he has maintained himself in power? Will they suffer any minister to depend for his power, on any thing but the good opinion of the people? Will they suffer him to engraft on the constitution, that excrescence which sooner or later will corrode its vitals? That mongrel principle which has detached the interests of the ministry from the soil, from the proprietors, from the cultivators, and supports itself, by administering unto the voracious appetite of stock-jobbing Jewish speculation.—Aye, Englishmen, give him but the Scottish and Irish members, and a standing army, and I would not exchange Cocker's Arithmetic for the whole catalogue of your rights. I tell you, the Irish senator over whom you have no responsibility, over whom the Irish people have no responsibility, will bargain away your constitution; I tell you the Irish soldier will make you bear it—mark my words.

A word now for the competency of the Irish parliament to change our constitution—I shall at once state my opinion on that point—I am by profession a lawyer, and I will not encumber with a single “if or and” the opinion I shall give on this question. *The parliament has no right to change the constitution.*—Yes, I repeat it, they cannot by right, though they may by power, change the constitution, and if they attempt it, the people have a right to consider

consider the change as a dissolution, and proceed to elect new members. It is not on a grand constitutional question—it is not on the first principles of government, that my judgment is to be governed by the silly assertion of any man.—How does this case rest on principle? how on authority? What is a member of parliament? a trustee for a certain time for the people, appointed for that purpose, and for that time, and for no other purpose, and no other time, by the people.—Suppose the Parliament were to vote the right of taxation to exist in the crown—Would any man say they had a right so to do?—It would be a vain parade of learning to shew all the cases, on which my doctrine is supported by principles and authority.—Let us see what the first of government writers says upon the subject:— \*

What

\* ‘ The Legislature cannot transfer the power of making laws to any other hands; for it being but a delegated power from the People, they who have it cannot pass it over to others. The people alone can appoint the form of the Commonwealth, which is by constituting the Legislature, and appointing in whose hands that shall be; and when the people have said, we will submit and be governed by laws made by such men, and in such terms, nobody else can say other men shall make laws for them. The power of the Legislature, being derived from the people by a positive voluntary act and institution, can be no other than what that positive act conveyed,

*which*



What does Lord Hobart say, “ whatever is  
 “ against natural reason and equity, is against law,  
 “ now if an act of Parliament were made against  
 “ reason and equity, that act was void.”—So much  
 for principles unerring, immutable, sacred, in-  
 violable principles.—Will the opposers of this  
 doctrine take refuge in a precedent or precedents?  
 Will they stand on the silly, inapposite, inappli-  
 cable grounds (as a wretched Pamphleteer has  
 done) of the Reformation, Revolution and Union

‘ *which being only to make Laws, and not to make Legislators, the*  
 ‘ Legislative can have no power to transfer their authority of  
 ‘ making laws, and place it in other hands.

LOCKE on Government, 2, 11, 14f.

‘ Governments are dissolved from within, when the Legisla-  
 ‘ tive is altered.—The constitution of the Legislative is the  
 ‘ first and fundamental act of Society, whereby provision is made  
 ‘ for the continuance of the Union, under the direction of per-  
 ‘ sons authorized thereto, without which no one man, or number  
 ‘ of men amongst thsm, can have authority of making laws,  
 ‘ which shall be binding to the rest. When any one or more  
 ‘ shall take upon them to make laws, whom the people have not  
 ‘ appointed so to do, they make laws without authority, which  
 ‘ the people are not therefore bound to obey; by which means  
 ‘ they come again to be out of subjection, and may constitute  
 ‘ to themselves a new Legislative as they think best, being in  
 ‘ full liberty to resist the force of those, who, without authority,  
 ‘ would impose any thing on them.”

IBID, 2, 19, 212.

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with



with Scotland? Or will they stand upon a case directly in point?—I admit it directly in point.—I mean the prolongation of the triennial Parliament in the year 1716.—This abominable measure was defended by its advocates, on the only resource of failing intellect, and corrupt principles—*necessity*.—The principle I have stated, if it wanted stability, would acquire it from this miserable exception; but I am dilating on a point on which there can be no *real* contrariety of opinion. To be brief, either this Union is against the consent of the people, or it is not.—If it is, then the accomplishment of it is nothing less than tyranny.—If it is not, then, where is the harm of having the constitutional sanction of the people—Where is the danger?—If the people wish for it, God forbid they should not have it—I should in such an event like other men submit, retaining my own opinions; I should think there was an end of virtue in my country, and with such an opinion and such a feeling, I should “*dum nova canities,*” set out upon my journey in search of some country, more congenial to *my* notions of liberty and public spirit.—Yes, but the infected mouth-piece of the British Minister may tell you, that this is no season for recurring to the constitutional will of the people; that is, he converts an irrefragable argument against the discussion of the measure at all

at this time, into a pitiful expedient for passing the measure, contrary to the constitution at all events, and most likely contrary to the wishes and inclinations of the people.

This mode of reasoning never was generated but by power, it never was maintained but at the enormous expence of a standing army—Woe to the stability of the Crown, if it were to rest on such foundations—Woe to the propagation of a doctrine, which supposes all treason against the Crown, and no treason against the People—I repeat it again and again, the Parliament has no right to pass this measure.—It has no right even to discuss it—I call upon the twelve Judges of England, upon the twelve Judges of Ireland, to contradict me on the principles I have laid down if I am wrong—I call upon the Law Officers of the Crown in both countries, to put themselves between the British Minister and the Constitution; to put themselves between the tyranny of the Minister and the rights of the People. I desire them to go tell the King, that any agitation of this measure in Parliament, without the consent of the people, shakes his throne to the center. His wicked Minister tell him, he will get empire; his real friends tells him, that empire is a burthen without the affections of his people. His wicked Minister tells him, he will get revenue; his friends

tell him, that revenue, created without previous consent, is robbery and usurpation. Let this flagitious measure be passed in contempt of the people's opinion, and the point of the bayonet will be the only finger-post for revenue throughout the kingdom. I call upon the Law Officers of this country—upon the Judges of the land to contradict me in writing—in print—I am known to them all.—If they can maintain the argument against me, they will do it, they ought to do it, they ought to publish it.—I go farther, they ought, if they agree with me, to publish their opinion ; there are among them more than one Holt ; there is not one of them who does not recollect and admire this great Judge's conduct, in the case of the Aylesbury men, wherein he shewed the Parliament, shewed them with effect, that the Constitution of England was greater and more powerful than Parliament.

Having endeavoured to consider in their order, the grand internal cardinal points of any nation's riches and prosperity, as they would be likely to be affected by this measure, let me now bring your attention to those external arguments of expediency, as they are called, and I apprehend they are reducible to three distinct heads : first, the stability of the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland ; secondly, the nature of the connexion  
that

that has hitherto existed, or in other words, the crimes and corruptions of the British Minister and the Government faction in Ireland; and thirdly, the state of our religious feuds with their causes and consequences. Now, with respect to the first point, connexion, I know but of two species either between individuals or nations, first, a connexion voluntary on both sides, and bottomed of course, in a system of mutual affections and interests. The second, a connexion of force, or rather the addition of empire by means of a military system: that I have not made a division either inadequate or unlikely, may be seen by adverting to a Pamphlet written with some ability, &c. titled “ An impartial view of the causes leading this country to the necessity of an Union,” &c. This Pamphlet, from many circumstances inherent in it, appears to be of Castle growth. I need not go farther than one circumstance—Is there a man out of the purlieus of the Castle, that in open defiance of every regard for character could pass an unqualified panegyric on the person and performance of that man who opened the campaign against your liberties? If this Pamphlet be well written in point of style, it is totally deficient in point of argument. On a very short view of it, you will find that its motive is despondency, and his argument is fear; the very worst motive, and worst reasoner in the world.

Let



Let me transcribe for you one passage from this book : Speaking of the impracticability, not the inexpediency, of separation, he says, “ The marine of Great Britain is the most stupendous power, not only this day in the world, but that ever was in the world—Her power by land is also, for her size, prodigious—After sending 30,000 troops to this country, and troops to every other quarter of the globe, she has now 220,000 armed troops, ready to march at a moment’s notice ; and shall Ireland without a ship, or a guinea to *pay* a soldier, except what she derives from the *bounty* of Britain, and which, to be protected from a little mob of its own, is obliged to depend upon the troops of that same Britain, effect a separation as long as Britain pleases to resist it, which will be for ever ? It is absurd to argue it, but the effect of any effort would be, that Britain would have to *conquer Ireland again*, and Ireland would have to pass through another century of desolation. That prospect is horrible. What then is the alternative—Union.” Tell me now, who have been the first to broach this doctrine of Union or Separation ? Has any one of us who have contributed our humble efforts to your service, argued the question on those grounds ? Have we not religiously



ously abstained from any abstract discussion on this question? Have we not looked on this part of the subject in the nature of an article of our faith, and have been satisfied of its intrinsic goodness without the necessity of a scrupulous examination? Have we not told you over and over again, that one of the grand decisive grounds of our opposition to this fatal measure was, that we dreaded that very separation some time or other, as the inevitable consequence of it? But this bloody mystery is beginning to bud full to your view. The State Pamphleteers are beginning openly to avow it—You *shall* be united—Does the Minister dare to say so? Is *that* the language to be held both in and out of Parliament? Ireland must be conquered again!!! Ireland has not a ship or a guinea to pay a soldier!—Oh gracious God!—Is it thus that our rights are to be disposed of—Is it for this, that the deluded among us poured blessings on the heads of those brave men who volunteered to save us from destruction? Save us from destruction, did I say—No, our danger was nearly over before their services could be sanctified by so divine a benediction—Our own soldiers, our unbought, unpurchased soldiers, saved us.—But why should I despond?—Why despair of the commonwealth? The Minister may subdue us for a season—He may make a province

vince—He may make of our country a wretched thing of his own manufacturing—He may one day himself, like the High Priest of Baal, fall the sacrifice to the idol of his own creation—Oh! my countrymen, read this—read this, I say—and tell me if in the tomb of common calamity we ought not to deposit the unnatural remains of our deadly remorse and animosity—Will the British Minister say openly, that he will wage war upon us? Suppose for instance, a majority in the House in favour of Ireland—Is war immediately to be proclaimed? Will the Heralds of the British Minister march thro' the streets of this proud city and at its corners proclaim War by the British Minister against the King of Ireland? Let him dare to do it—But the most *stupendous marine in the universe!! Two hundred and twenty thousand troops ready to march at a moment's notice!!!*—a fine battle-piece this—a *genuine salvator rosa*—Look at its contrast! The fair figure of Hibernia, without a ship, without a guinea to pay a soldier, in tears, bedewing with her sacred brine, that landscape, drawn by the hand of ungenerous, ungrateful, unprincipled authority—Dry those tears, Hibernia—there might be room for tears, if tears were the best, the proudest protection for the menaced liberties of your people.

Let us turn from this black, gloomy, and portentous side of the picture, wherein can be seen

but

but the gloom of desolation.—Let us look to that side of it, where light and shade are beautifully harmonized ; let us see, I say, how that kind of connexion is likely to be affected by this measure ; let us examine that connexion which is grounded on common affection, and common interest ; and here too do I take leave to say, that as between nations, there is no voluntary connexion that can be permanent, but a connexion of interests—alas ! how few, even in private life, have negatived this principle.—But among nations, no Statesman has a right to reckon on abstract affections ; they are but ancillary to the grand point—Interest. How then is this voluntary connexion likely to be affected by this measure ?—I think I may divide, as to political opinions this nation into two parties—the loyal, and the disloyal—I know that a more copious, comprehensive, and able division has been already made on this head\*.—With respect to the latter, those I mean whose wishes and objects are separation—Is there any man so weak in understanding, so little acquainted with the qualities of the heart, so deficient in observation, as to believe that an Union will convert a *single* man of this

\* See Mr. P. Burrowes's able speech in the report of the debate of the Bar Meeting, on Sunday, 9th December last.

description into a loyal and steady supporter of the rights of the crown? Is it necessary for me to argue this matter more at large? There is already a living argument in the face of every United Irishman in Ireland—The gloom of past discomfiture has been exchanged for the smile of anticipated success—You know they are ready to run riot with joy—But the loyal—those very men who but lately interposed between the crown and the populace—those very men who underwent the most trying fatigues, and the most outrageous violations of the ordinary habits of life—who voluntarily did so—those men, I say, who actually saved this country, who fortified and confirmed that species of connexion which alone is suited to the feelings and dignity of the people of Ireland.—Look at those men as you pass thro' your streets—look at their countenances as you travel through your country—Can you read in their features; the character of their thoughts? Has the agitation of this question given unto their features the unerring demonstrations of joy, of satisfaction, of peace? Have you heard many of them speak? What say they? Are they satisfied? Traverse, as I have done, the great area of this majestic city—and you will see no cause for exultation—those that think with ardor, speak out—those that think with caution, look with sorrow and distrust.—You cannot hope, I say, to for-  
tify



tify by this sad measure the connexion between us—that kind connexion only, which is dignified and permanent—that connexion which is “enthroned in the hearts” of men—that connexion which is the beautiful personification of God’s holy precept—that connexion which is “peace and harmony among men.”

I am now to consider the second topic of my last arrangement—I mean the *nature* of the connexion that has existed between Great Britain and Ireland.—This is made, by the advocates of the Union, a ground on which the constitution of our country is to be surrendered—Let us consider it as an argument—It is agreed on all hands, that the nature of this connexion is very bad. In order to make the badness of this connexion a ground for a total change, two things indispensable in my opinion should previously appear.—1st. That there is no other way than by a total fundamental change, to get rid of this sort of connexion,—and 2dly, That supposing this to be the case, that in *this* particular, the change must be for the better.—This of necessity leads me to consider, what the nature of that connexion is, which has given so much offence to all parties, and how it has originated and grown into its state of frightful maturity.—I shall not be long—I do not mean to write a history—I only wish to give a sketch.



In general terms then, I may say, that Great Britain and Ireland being both independent kingdoms, have been connected by means of their mutual interests, and this has been strengthened and fortified by the union of the two crowns—The king of Ireland not residing in Ireland, but in England; of course his Majesty's council is there too; so that touching the affairs of Ireland, his Majesty has been pleased in the first instance to be governed by his British ministers.—It would be needless in this place to state the enormous influence of the crown—how it has been by degrees acquired, and what will be the likely consequences of it—nor is it necessary to give a chronological history of the influence of the British minister in this country; so that I shall bring you back only to the question of the Regency, from the date of which, I think it appears incontestable, that the British minister no longer concealed his hostility to your country; but has acted upon a system, which has been conceived in darkness, hatched by treachery on one hand, and corruption on the other, led through the frightful avenues of civil dissensions, religious feuds, and all the horrors of rapine and blood—and finally brought to the light in the ghastly shape of the murderer of your constitution, your liberties, your laws.—This is not an exaggerated picture, believe me—nor is it the result of sudden workmanship—it has been painting, for a long time,

time, with all the genius of a painter, who having his palette well set, and copiously furnished, proceeds with great order and industry through all the gradations of finished art.

I will not state to you what had been the conduct of the British minister in the year 1785, not quite two years after that act. by which the Parliament of Great Britain *renounced* any right that she had ever claimed, to bind by British laws the Irish people. This was the grand Charter of Ireland—I will not, I say, enter into any details of this man's conduct on that occasion; suffice it to remark that Charles Fox, in the British Senate, exposed his covered hostility to the Irish people—and in a blaze of eloquence never to be forgotten by Ireland, is at at this moment to be found the just chastisement due to such an unprincipled, mean, and treacherous attack, upon the infant independence of your country. I shall forbear to mention the fate of those propositions in this country—You all know it—It never can be forgotten—It is the splendid monument of parliamentary exertion.—What had you done in the year 1785—without a Parliament? The conduct of your Parliament on the regency, was not well calculated to soften, in this haughty vindictive man, the recollection of his discomfiture in 1785. The unexpected recovery of the King enabled  
him

him to set his fatal designs in motion. At this time (the regency I mean) your Patriots, the talented part of your Parliament, those men to whom you had for some years been accustomed to look for parliamentary protection, were proscribed.

The success of an interested speculation flung to the pinnacle of power a set of men from whose abilities you could expect little; from whose virtues you could expect less.—They were by nature, and by habit, the best suited to the views of the British minister, and no doubt he thought so.—Of those men however let me say, that I can scarcely think it possible, that they would at the commencement of their employment have listened to a measure, which the minister with more cunning, and certainly with more effect, thought proper to reserve for a more distant, but more certain success. My real opinion is, that had this measure been proposed to those men at that time, it would have met in the bosoms of those very men a cool reception—No.—The minister calculated better. He saw that many things were to be done, before he could hope for any success,—the system by which our ruin was to be accomplished was admirably well organized.—The first step was, to destroy all confidence between the Parliament

liament and the people—to make, in fact, the Parliament of Ireland, any thing but the Parliament of Ireland—To force the people to look to any thing with more hope, than the Parliament of its own creation. To drive the people to ask for this very measure—To the accomplishment of his views in this respect, one thing was essential;—a large majority—Hence by a master-stroke of policy, the partition between individuals of places and pensions—Hence the creation of innumerable places, that can only be recollected, through the medium of their uselessness and their expence.—Hence the open, competition sale of the Peerage. It was not that this man poisoned the very fountain of public honor, but in fact, while he waged *open* war against the rights of the people, he waged *covered* war against the constitutional prerogatives of the Crown. The people who are the victims, will look with jealousy and distrust on that power, by which they have been or may be sacrificed; and while the prerogatives, and the influence of the Crown are mortal, are perishable, the rights of the people are immortal, are eternal.

This abominable, flagitious sale to vice, of that which should be the exclusive monopoly of virtue, made no inconsiderable impression on the public mind;



mind; the business itself was conducted at the Castle in so clumsy, so awkward a manner, that it was exposed in all the nakedness of hideous deformity, to the very eyes of the public. Great sensations of course, loud whispers, unconcealed symptoms of public indignation. A motion is made in the House of Commons, touching this foul, disgraceful, unconstitutional, transaction; what was the fate of that motion? It failed like many others. The facts, as stated, were at the risque of every thing dear to the characters of men, offered to be proved at the bar of your House of Commons. Was this the subject, I ask you, of all others, the most suited to the dignity of parliamentary investigation? Either the ministers were guilty of this, or they were not; if not, why then shun the investigation—if they were, can't you draw the conclusion? Had a common tax-gatherer been maltreated in extorting from the half-famished peasant the duty upon his wretched salt, you would have had the whole treasury-bench marshalled in vindictive array upon a common application;—but a question of the last constitutional importance, finds itself postponed to the more important consideration of the previous question.

The circumstances of the times (if it were not impiety to think it) seemed, as it were, pre-disposed by Providence for the accomplishment of  
 this



this man's plans and designs on the liberties of our country. About this time there arose that society, which, under constitutional pretences, aimed at nothing less than the overthrow of our constitution; the times were exceedingly favorable to the growth of this society. The Parliament had already fallen much in the public estimation;—I need not give you the history of this period—no doubt you all know it—a stupendous event, of which I was an eye-witness, seemed to threaten with imminent danger the European system; it menaced with the frown of anticipated authority all the old and venerable institutions, by which the different states of Europe had been for centuries kept together; it *professed* to make the sacred rights of the people the motives and foundation of its conduct. It was an engine, a mighty engine, for a wicked faction, with the assistance of a discontented people. It is not for me, here, to give you my opinions on this dreadful event, I have already given them in print, to those of you to whom the name of an obscure individual is unknown, suffice it to say, that on this occasion, I was the humble, but the only auxiliary of the sublimest advocate, the cause of *Monarchy* ever recorded or ever will record—Oh! immortal man! had it but pleased Providence, to spare you unto your native, your beloved country—I should at this moment, fill

the same dignified station that first brought me to your notice.—Gracious God, what an advocate have you lost ! I knew his sentiments upon this very question—I communicated to him shortly before his death my alarms, and I found that in the almost exhausted lamp of life, there yet remained on the subject of *your* rights, *your* liberties, the brilliancy and fullness of solar illumination.

The event of the French revolution stopped for a moment the course of my narration—I must bring you back---I was speaking of that society, whose existence has marked with blood the æra of its birth. This very society, whose views were directed against the very being of the monarchy, was by the minister of our monarch, converted into an instrument of our ruin and disgrace. It was not sufficient that our Parliament had lost the confidence of the people---- (I mean the majority in Parliament). It was necessary to *blast the hopes of the people*, in their confidence in the opposition---It was necessary that the people should have no hold at all in the Parliament---It was necessary that the majority should appear to be corrupt, and that the opposition should appear to be traitors. —Was it a constitutional motion in favor of the people? The mover and supporters were by the friends of the minister, both in and out of Parliament, branded with the epithets of Innovators,

novators, French Republicans, United Irishmen, &c. By these means, that constitutional opposition, which I have no hesitation in declaring, is the proudest sentinel of our rights, became the object of our suspicions—It was represented by the agents of the minister, as a kind of parliamentary edition of the works of disaffection and treason.—Having thus succeeded by bribery on the one hand, and industrious misrepresentation on the other, to render your Parliament odious to you: It occurred to the British minister, that even on that head something was yet undone—What was it? to make that very Parliament contemptible to itself—to make it the wanton, unprovoked, unirritated aggressors, and then to make it swallow its words—It was a question of the Catholic claims.—The Members of your Parliament were *sent*, aye! I say, *sent*, by the British minister post haste to your several counties—For what? to put an ex-parliamentary extinguisher on those very claims—to prevent the possibility of their distant, their humble and obsequious approach even unto the threshold of your parliamentary tabernacle—Well—this might not have been inconsistent.—But Gracious God! think of the triumph of the British minister over the wretched remnant of Irish consistency, when those very men were *ordered*, by that same mi-

nister into the ranks of Catholic enlargement, and on the day of battle there you found them.

About the time I am now speaking of, an event happened in England, which of all others contributed to strengthen the means of the minister, in his views against the common constitution, and his already half-accomplished enterprizes against the liberties of Ireland.—I am speaking of the coalition of the Duke of Portland.—This single event has been a purchase, a physical force I may say, which has been used with dreadful ingenuity and effect.—That opposition which had been the luminous, the jealous, the vigilant, the sleepless, the proudly constitutional guardian of your liberties, found itself at once weakened and discomfited by the means of uncommon artifice, on the one hand, and uncommon dupery on the other.—Its spirit began to be broken with its strength, and after several vigorous but ineffectual struggles, weakened in numbers, and disheartened in spirits, it sank into a state of political annihilation.—It seceded—I do not mean to canvass here the wisdom of that measure. Sure I am, that it was not unnatural.—The body that has been almost exhausted in repeated struggles, has been known to make one last grand effort, and then lie down and die.

I am nearly touching on that period, at which an event of the most extraordinary nature, the most  
diabolical



diabolical purpose, and most woeful consequence arrested the attention of every thinking mind in Ireland.—In two counties there raged an open war, carried on with too fatal success by a set of miscreants, who had the impiety to say, that they were fighting on the side of the ever-living God.—Their unarmed, houseless, naked, famished victims, such of them as escaped from the sword or conflagration, were seen in the heart of a free country, stalking in herds through the fields, in all the wretchedness of heart-breaking nudity and want—every ditch in that part of the country was a convenient burying place—alas, those plenteous fields afforded to its former occupiers no other accommodation—All this happened under the very nose of a strong executive government, within the view of a considerable military force.—The common calls of humanity, independent of the motives of public duty, procured for these unhappy, innocent sufferers, the unbought eloquence of some of the members of your opposition.—A motion, temperate in its nature, constitutional in its principle, and humane in its object, met the same fate that generally attended all the exertions in favour of your people.—Was this a fit, a dignified, an imperative subject of parliamentary enquiry? When a motion of this nature meets not even the polite reception of hospitality, are we not to ask what the real state of the case is, and what can be the motives for a conduct unaccounted for on any sound idea of the

understanding

understanding, or any honorable affection of the heart; the truth was plain, was very plain—the system was developing itself every hour.

In consequence of that coalition, of which I have already spoken, a nobleman—the hereditary representative of the Marquis of Rockingham, the representative of his virtues—was at the express desire of his sovereign invested with the government of Ireland. The state of the country had appeared to make it adviseable to select a man of great consequence, and incorruptible integrity—he however was little aware of the real springs that were in actual motion—His friend the illustrious Edmund Burke foresaw that Lord Fitzwilliam might be the means of doing much good to his native country, and he, with others, used his utmost endeavours to prevail on his Lordship to fill a station never solicited, and accepted with reluctance. His friends, however, thought it adviseable that the *express* conditions of his administration should be previously ascertained—I know these facts—I was at Beaconsfield about that time—The Earl of Fitzwilliam arrived—his very presence diffused harmony and peace through the land—in truth he deserved your affections—his mission was toleration—his object was peace—I forbear to state here, the particulars of this short administration—I fear I have grown into too great length already—He was recalled—Why? Because peace  
between

between Irishmen was not the concealed object of his mission—And this venerable nobleman in the honest indignation, which insulted virtue always feels, has given unto us a gloomy monument of great virtue, sacrificed by great crime.—This very measure had at that time taken a kind shape in that forge, wherein the master workman is any thing and every thing.—Listen to my Lord Fitzwilliam's own words—He receives a letter from the Duke of Portland on the Catholic question, in which his Grace says—“ That the deferring this question, would be not merely an expediency, or a *thing to be desired* for the present, but the means of doing a greater service to the British EMPIRE than it has been capable of receiving since the Revolution, or at least since the UNION!”—Mark these two words, *Empire*, and *Union*—What! a letter expressly written to a virtuous Lord Lieutenant on the peculiar affairs of Ireland, never condescends to mention any benefit to *Ireland*—No—Empire is the word—this single sacrilegious word, which for six hundred years of our existence stood between us and our rights, which in all the exertions for our liberties, has been the strong entrenchment within which your enemies took post—and from which they were driven by the Volunteers of Ireland with discomfiture and disgrace.

The Earl of Camden succeeded to the Lieutenancy of Ireland—It is not for me to speak in this  
place

place of his private virtues—perhaps they were many—his friends said so.—His administration was a most fatal one.—This society had taken deep root—every act of the government gave to it a purchase, by which it was enabled to move the great body of the people.—The government were aware of this, and their policy was, that the movement should be premature—hence your whipping, hanging, burning, free-quarter systems.—The government, however, succeeded, and the calends of May 1798, were written in blood.

Thus have I endeavoured, through the means of a hasty sketch, in which certainly many important matters are omitted, to bring you directly to the date of our recent misfortunes—and having to the best of my judgment, (and I must say, with a sincerity that becomes the humble advocate of so righteous a cause) traced the history of those plans by which a connexion of mutual affections and interests has been converted into the source of all our sorrows, let me now for a moment ask your indulgence, while I speak of the natural mortality of this system.—Believe me, it is not entitled in any respect to the honor of eternity—save in the remembrance of the horrors it has caused—I speak it in the honor of your constitution, that this system forms no part of it—it is a vile excrescence, that has grown into hideous magnitude upon its fair form—it wants but the knife



knife, or the caustic, to remove it—How can a system be said to be eternal, which is founded on the confusion of principles, and principles of confusion? How can a system be called even permanent, when the punishment that is due to crime, is defeated only by the commission of new crimes? No wonder that the torch of discord should supply the only light, by which these men could hope to see their way through such a system as this; a system, which would impiously check the rising springs of life, and cripple the bounteous movements of Providence; a system, which would fit the growing properties of nature to the stunted measure of a corrupt mind, and a wicked heart; a system which would, with hellish boldness and effrontery, set itself in hostile array against the express will of God; a system in short, that would pervert the charity of heaven into the wrath of hell, and metamorphose the fertility of nature into the desolation of art.

I tell you this system cannot last—I tell you the minister of England, and his faction here, know it; that faction, which having sold its corruption at a high price to a venal purchaser, would now set up their crimes to auction—a faction, I say, that having made war upon the rights of the people, would take sanctuary from their crimes at the altar whereon your liberties are to be sacrificed.—The minister has endeavoured to prop his falling system—it will

do—it is built of rotten materials on a rotten foundation.—The faction here had put their shoulders to support it—they have been obliged to quit their station, lest they should find themselves buried in its ruins—I tell you again, the system is tumbling—it is at this moment almost prostrate before you. The minister and the faction are afraid they cannot *safeley* part with their system—they must ;—they propose to you to exchange a rotten, falling, prostrate system for EXTERMINATION.

If you have by this time observed the absurdity and impiety of giving to a system of sin, one of God's attributes, it is time I should speak to you of the *manner* in which your rights have been, and are to be disposed of.—Are you even previously consulted on a vital measure of *your* prosperity—I confess I am one of those who would give the epithet of interested officiousness to any interference in my favour, unless there had been with myself some previous concert or communication.—Believe me, *nations* are never satisfied with the dumb and silent emblems of charity.—This measure, which all must admit, contains within itself, the consideration at least, of every thing that is dear to us as a nation, is actually settled—Where? in Ireland? No—in the cabinet of Great Britain—By whom? By the same British minister and a few *favourites* of the faction.—

tion.—The British minister *orders* his minions to attend him—Behold them in council—when up-rose

- “ Belial, in act most graceful and humane ;  
 “ A fairer person lost not heaven ; he seem’d  
 “ For dignity compos’d and high exploit :  
 “ But all was *false and hollow* ; though his tongue  
 “ Dropp’d manna, and could make the worse appear  
 “ The better reason, to perplex and dash  
 “ Maturest counsels : for his *thoughts were low* ;  
 “ *To vice industrious*, but to *nobler deeds*  
 “ *Timorous and slothful* : yet he pleas’d the ear,  
 “ And with persuasive accent thus began :”—

Would to God, I could in the language of the divine poet, make for my Belial the speech which his character so well deserves, and which my humble talents are so ill suited to supply ; but not being able to make *such* a speech, I think it wiser and safer to trust rather to your imagination, than my own diction. The matter however being decided, Belial sends his minions across to see his orders executed ;—the chief agent or ostensible broker first arrives—this young gentleman happens to be an Irishman—his outset in life was marked by a puerile effort to lift himself into notice on the shoulders of the people.—He lay however some time on the shelf, when the acci-

dent of a family connexion first brought him to your notice, through the medium of some official situation ; I believe he held the important and active office of Privy Seal.—The visitation of a dangerous illness contributed to bring him still further into view, and in addition to the laborious duties of his former office, he undertook to be the deputy-usher of the grand task-master of Ireland. He had now acquired much power, and he resolved to make the first use of it in an attack upon an act of Parliament ; he would not vacate his seat ; he said so, and so it was ; he never passes the streets without bringing to the recollection of the people, how easy it is as matters have been going on, to evade an act made in their favour ;—he has among many of us been called a walking violation of an act of Parliament. —'Tis said he piques himself upon a likeness to his employer ; unfortunately there is some, for they both arrived at unmerited power at an early period in life ; but Belial has talents.—This young gentleman might roll on, in the ordinary rotation of life, unheeded, and unnoticed, save by the successful exertions of his own vanity ; for he is fond of talking, and I need not tell you the fate that has generally attended men of that description.—However, behold him arrived at the gilded pinnacle of power, for he has ceased to be the deputy



puty, and is now become the principal, and as he actually receives the *profits* of the employment, so it is to be hoped he will have the decency to vacate his seat.—Behold him fresh from the mint wherein those mighty *terms* have been coined ;—see him seated in his auction-room, wherein he advertises he will receive proposals for every species of Parliamentary manufacture.—He is not thinly attended, the business is set agoing, and so tickled are the fancies of the whole tribe, at the very idea of a *bargain*, that strange as it may appear, *you, even you, the People of Ireland*, cannot present yourselves to their imaginations, but in the shape of a vendible commodity.—It is really lamentable, that it should be in the power of Belial, to make a young gentleman perfectly hateful, who might be perfectly inoffensive without his interference.\*—To be serious, my countrymen, believe me there is nothing of eternity in this system, I promise you,

\* “ Be just before you are generous ”—Belial, as is natural to *him*, reverses a wise and honest principle—as a Steward, without the previous permission of his principal, he undertakes to give a sum of near two millions of the money of his principal (who owes more than she is worth) as a favour to another, who neither asks for it, nor wishes for it, and who will not take it most positively ; but yet Belial carries his romantic generosity so far, that he would, if he could, enforce his compliment at the point of the bayonet.

it is nearly prostrate already ; but were it even to last a long time, yet would I not exchange it for another, worse, and eternal. I shall conclude my observations on this head, in the words of that divine poet I have already quoted to you :

- “ This horror will grow mild, this darkness light,  
 “ Besides what hope the never-ending flight  
 “ Of future days may bring, what charms, what change,  
 “ Worth waiting, since our present lot appears  
 “ For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,  
 “ *If we procure not unto ourselves more woe.*”

I am at length arrived at the last, not least source of our present calamities, that reservoir from which a foreign power is supplied by domestic weakness—I am alluding to our religious feuds—“ The Church is in danger”—These words have drunk deep of the living streams of blood—and in the self-created cause of the *all-merciful God*, has been found the inexhaustible source of warfare and depopulation—Is it necessary for me to prove unto the Orangeman, how little he has to dread from Catholic claims, Catholic pretensions, or Catholic success? Their claims are the claims of righteousness, earned through the trying process of long depressions and uninterrupted misfortunes, earned through all the rigors of severe and unmerited pilgrimage

grimage and penance ; their pretensions are the pretensions of unrewarded loyalty, disdaining to stand (I would stake my eternal Salvation on it) on the abominable foundations of resumption or injustice ; their success has undergone the fate of virtue, thwarted by the industrious machinations of crime.—I tell the Orangeman, (*that forced growth of the present administration*) that he has no real danger to apprehend from Catholic claims, pretensions or success.—I tell the Orangeman that he is not a creature of spontaneous, natural growth—I tell him, he is a creature of ministerial manufacture—I tell him, the only danger he has seen, has been a danger created for him, purposely, maliciously, interestedly created for him ;—I tell the Orangeman, if he were to scrutinise with microscopic scrupulousness the whole system of human notions and human affections, he could not get an inch of ground to stand on—I tell the Orangeman, that he has been made the *active* dupe of Machiavelian policy—I tell the Orangeman, that he has surrendered the natural, amiable, domestic, control of his understanding and his heart, to the unnatural, extrinsic, hateful, management of interested, unwholsome, artifice and deception.—Those who compose the Orange-societies, cannot be born with propensities of this peculiar destination ;

tion; let no man tell me, that an orange-man was by *nature* calculated to be the living record of hatred and animosity to him who wishes him no ill, and intends him no harm. Oh wicked policy! Oh detestable artifice! which has contrived, that while the human intellect has been enlightened, and human liberality and toleration extended in other parts of the world, it should be our fate to be re-plunged, with sudden rapidity, into all the misfortunes and horrors of bigotry and superstition! This cannot be the natural process of our understandings, or our hearts—No; it is the unrighteous triumph of preconcerted malignity, over the lamentable imbecillity of our nature. Ask yourselves, if some of you have not been frightened, and others of you have not been goaded, into a system of mutual, unnatural, antipathy. If this abominable system had been the offspring of your natures, its operations had been steady and immutable. You know it well, I say, that not many years are past, since, forgetting those animosities, which are the growth of barbarism, and never the offspring of civilization, you began to love each other; you know, that love was in a progressive state of advancement.—Had this divine work been completed, you would have furnished but slender materials for watchful, satanical, jealousy; the arch-fiend of mischief



mischief has interposed between you and your happiness; but our errors, like those of our first parents, are yet redeemable—let us submit to the inferiority of our condition, and become our own redeemers.

My address to the Catholics is short,—I tell the Catholic, he has no right to sacrifice at the altar of political sin (discovered, detected sin) the liberties of his country, possibly the unincumbered inheritance of his own children; I tell the Catholic, he has no right to take refuge from a passing, perishable, danger, in the bosom of Extermination. I caution the Catholic to beware lest, in starting from the already blunted instrument, he may not fall back into the arms of death. In the name of eternal truth, in the name of common humanity, in the language of that Being which prescribes to us to live in common charity with one another—I call on the Orange-man to throw off that drapery which so ill becomes his nature, and give it back to him who gave it—I call on the Catholic to come forward, and state to the Orange-man his views, and quiet his alarms—I call upon them both, to beat down this unnatural system of antipathy without cause, and hostility without provocation. In the name of our common liberties I call upon some Protestant body, to come forward at this dreadful crisis—I call upon

some Corporation, to come forward, and seize upon the unoccupied post of glory—I call upon them, to erect unto themselves an everlasting monument of splendor—I call upon them to earn, while they have it in their power, this inscription:

They administered speedy and effectual relief  
Unto the gasping, almost lifeless, liberties of their country.

Having endeavoured to shew unto you your *real* situation, and the *real* causes which have contributed to it, and in the doing of which, I have travelled through many a scene of woe—let me, for the present, change, as it were, the nature of my subject, and give to the state-libeller a word, by way of recreation:—This man, having proceeded through all the regular gradations of flippant compliance, finds himself, at length, transformed from a common English writing-clerk, into the station and capacity of an Irish governor!—In *your* country, and by *your* means, he has been bloated into importance; of course he owes you much—and indeed he has not been ungrateful; I for one do thank him—nay, I have the presumption to thank him in your name; a very wicked heart, with the assistance of a very crooked understanding, has enabled him to render great service to the state. In his intentional hostility is to be found the essence  
of

of involuntary kindness. While with one hand he is ineffectually endeavouring to plunder Ireland of her rights, he is, with the other, actually re-paying her for her favors. This man has written a book upon *your* affairs ; it has had a most extensive circulation—it has done much, and will do more good. I proceeded in it with that equanimity of mind, which, you know, a certain sensation inspires, when one passage tended to light me into a kind of indignation ;—it is right you should hear it—If you had the Union, there would be “ no  
 “ fear of Ireland being too powerful to be go-  
 “ verned.”—If I had talents for the purpose, I should not desire a better theme than this, to electrify the spirit of a free people. But as I promised you, I would only speak of this creature for your recreation, I shall only say, that the plain English of this sentence is, that unless you submit to an Union, you would become too powerful to be governed by the flagitious principles of his wicked task-master. There is in short, in this spiteful animal, all the strong and natural propensities to mischief, happily without a single talent for contrivance.—I have heard it reported within a few days, that he has endeavoured to deny his work, and has wished to shift it upon some other creature, as wicked and as harmless as himself. This retrac-

tion is mean, very mean; it is the heartless expedient of a culprit, who after a conviction on the clearest evidence, would pitifully implore his judge and jury to enter into the merits of his case. This has however, restored my mind to its original uniformity, and could you read it, you would see nothing written on it but the word, *contempt*.

Having trod on this reptile *en passant*, let me proceed to the more important consideration of our common concerns.— You see I have endeavoured to shew unto you, the existence many years ago of this plan—I have endeavoured to point your attention to the caution, the silence, the dexterity used in the British Cabinet on a vital subject of *your* interests—I also endeavoured to impress on your minds the avowed system on which it was at different times to be accomplished—I have next endeavoured to shew how far from similar have been the cases of Scotland and Ireland; indeed, I went farther; I gave it you as my sincere opinion, that Scotland has been all but ruined by the Union—I also gave you the reasons and documents on which, I grounded that opinion—I next entered as fully as a work like this required, into the consideration of those questions, which are the only ones, I maintain  
it,



it, that can be called the cardinal points of any nation's prosperity.—On each of these heads I have endeavoured to shew, how little Ireland could gain, and how much she *must* lose.—I then proceeded to shew how little the connexion between your country and Great Britain, would be likely to receive any additional stability by this measure; on the contrary I have said what I now think and feel, viz. that there are in it all the principles of separation, for the most simple of all reasons, because we shall be always glad to get rid of a connexion to which we were *forced*. I have endeavoured also, to shew how little good sense and reason there was in that argument, drawn from the *nature* of our former intercourse, and lastly I endeavoured to shew unto you the nature, causes, and consequences, of our *irreligious* feuds.—On each and every one of these topics, I have convinced my own understanding—It is with the sincerity of a man who loves his country, that I have thought proper to communicate to my countrymen, the result of some thinking and infinite affection.—But even though I had failed in the discussion of the various questions I took up, yet, would I not for that reason yield—Until the lightning of conviction flashes on the affirmative side of the question, I say, you have nothing to do in the mean time, but to take post within the  
entrenchments

entrenchments of national *dignity and pride*—I repeat it—*National dignity and pride*.—Let me tell you in the language of the illustrious Burke, that “ high and haughty sentiments,” are no inconsiderable guardians of any nation’s liberty.—The transitions from national dignity to national slavery, are neither slow nor uncertain.—The nation that can without a pang surrender its dignity, will without much difficulty in the process, surrender its freedom without a struggle.—Believe me, the great security of virtue is, the firmness with which it resists the *first approaches* of vice.—The distance between that virtue on which vice has made the slightest innovation, and vice itself, is but chimerical.—The mind that can listen with patience, to compensation for national dignity, will by a natural process feel little disgust at a system of tyranny on the one hand, and slavery on the other. As to *terms* therefore, I tell you, they are not to be listened to with patience, by a people retaining the slightest spark of the real essence of liberty.—What! take from you your constitution, and give you terms; take from you the fair form of life, and give you drapery!—What! dress up a death’s head in all the finery of fantastic ornament! No—no, these very ornaments are but a *plausible* covering; draw the drapery aside, and you see but the morbid hideousness of death.—Let no man talk to me of any argument grounded upon imperial  
importance

importance :—What ! are not whole tracts of territory, large provinces in desolation in the East, and entire islands peopled by the sale of nature in the West, sufficient unto proud imperial Britain—but you get an imperial constitution—you will still have King, Lords, and Commons.—Yes, you will have that parliament which has been for more than six hundred years recording the monuments of its own tyranny and your disgrace—Yes, you will have that parliament from which superior virtue and superior courage extorted the avowal of *your* rights, and the renunciation of *its* wrongs, sitting in vindictive judgment on the affairs of your country—Yes, you will have that parliament, which in the early periods of your history, spurned at the humble remonstrances of your rights, kicked from its doors the petitions of your people, and consigned to splendid infamy the statement of your case.—The conflagration that consumed the *case* of Molyneux, illuminated the *cause* of Ireland—Yes, you will have that parliament, which in the plenitude of its power, exhibited to you nothing but a system of tyranny and usurpation, and in abdicating its power, was forced to take refuge from open oppression, in a system of jealousy and discontent.—Yes, you will have that parliament, which having had recourse to every stratagem of contrivance, to every expedient of evasion and procrastination, on the subject of your constitution,

constitution, was at last obliged to yield to heroic steadiness, uncommon virtue, and the determined perseverance of your own people. Let me ask you, would you not have laughed to scorn the terror of the Prætorian Guards in the year 1782?—What are become of the grand landmarks, by which in all countries and in all ages the human mind has been identified? What would you have thought of this measure in the year 1783? Would you not have reckoned this measure the consummation of English tyranny and Irish slavery?—Would you not have reckoned temperance and moderation on such a subject, the unerring symptoms of national degradation and debasement? Would you have suffered any man to tamper with your independence, on the ground of a bargain, I ask you? Would not your mind have sickened at the very mention of the word Union? No—your mind would have had the illumination and vigor of liberty—no—the very mention of the word would have produced an electric fire, that would have put your people in motion in the most retired corner of your country—No! I say myriads of arms would have stood in hostile array, between the menace of the measure and the proposal of it. The records of your country in the year 1783 could not have experienced so vile a contamination—What! scarcely fifteen years are passed since that very constitution which you re-  
gained



gained with so much virtue and heroism, becomes the subject of political barter—is transformed into a commodity of sale and transfer—What! not suffer it to touch the common æra of manhood, but in its state of growing adolescence, full of youth and beauty, set it up to public auction! What! the Irish people turn African merchants, and send a being of their own creation into the arms of oppression! What! I say, the people of Ireland with more than parricidal wickedness and inhumanity, sell its own child to the highest and fairest bidder! What! will you suffer the page of history to bring you to the recollection of your posterity, only by the story of your own crimes and their misfortunes! What! will you, with all the bankrupt prodigality of heirship, spend in your life-time the inheritance that should be destined for your children, and leave them no other legacy than your map.—It cannot be—the God of nature, I think, says so.

I laugh at those who say, we are a nation only on sufferance.—I am a friend—a decided friend—to the connexion with Great Britain, for the reasons I have already offered—I would leap into the water, and stretch out my hand to save her, but I will not let her *grasp* me for the useless and mournful honor of being ingulphed in the same deep with her. It is a pitiful expedient in the hands of

these men, to menace us with separation; if Great Britain shall threaten to separate herself from us, we must beseech of her to consult her own and our interests; we must do every thing to prevent that fatal measure, short of the surrender of our rights, our liberties, our laws—I say it, I laugh at those who place our liberties upon the caprice or forbearance of any nation upon earth—What was Holland, springing from her marshes, with a scanty, barren territory, and not half our population, at the close of the sixteenth century? I'll tell you what it was—it was a land of liberty—That single word made every cabin in Holland a fortification, and every Dutchman a hero.—You, too, may continue to be free; your liberty depends but on yourselves; you have a most righteous cause. There are not wanting patriots in your Senate—Alas! you have in your metropolis a calumniated patriot, whose gigantic talents have stamped him as the advocate, successful advocate, of liberty. You have another Marcellus, living, as it were, in exile in his native land.—If our liberties are to be sold, if we are to be betrayed, let us have the solitary consolation of his recorded vote.

In the important consideration of your *general* prosperity, I had nearly forgotten a subject apparently

parently local, but in which all of us have a common concern—I mean the interests of this great city; that proud eminence from which I am speaking to the people of Ireland—that very metropolis, whose exertions on many occasions, but particularly on a recent one, contributed so much to prop the tottering fabric of the throne.—This service, one would have imagined, deserved some recompense—What is to be its recompense?—Annihilation—The unremote transformation of the most beautiful city in Europe, without exception, into the wretched insignificance of a common fishing-town.—Alas! For what purpose have we been hewing large stones in the capital? For what purpose have our sumptuous mansions, our stately edifices, risen within our view, unto a degree of enviable splendor? Are they the almost speaking emblems of public prosperity? They will become the silent records of public misfortune.—Are they the almost animated symbols of public spirit?—They will become the cheerless monuments of public disgrace.—Mark the curious traveller, whom the history of your former splendor and your calamities may hereafter tempt to your shores.—Mark him, while casting his eyes around he marches in sepulchral silence through your living streets, hearing nought but the raven, seeing nought but depopulated magnificence! Mark  
him

him tracing by your half-standing walls, the extent of your former circumference, and calculating upon your former population.—Mark him surveying with classic admiration, that massy pile, the seat of your learning, the nursery of your youth, and the pride of your people!—Mark him, I say, changing his eye to the left, and catching that bold majestic frontispiece, that stupendous record of your liberties and your shame! Mark him turning to his *Cicerone* (to whose faithful memory have been entrusted the lists of your curiosities and the story of your misfortunes) and asking what's that? That, Sir, *was* the Parliament House, for you must know, that Ireland had once a Parliament.—Mark him looking eastward, and catching through the frightful vista of ruin and desolation, that dumb, but eloquent token of commercial prosperity! What's that? That, Sir, *was* the Custom-house, for you must know, that Dublin once had trade.—All, all these—but despondency is the argument of slaves.—There *was* a time, when Irishmen of all descriptions clustered round the drooping genius of incarcerated commerce, led her from her gloomy cell, into the light of Heaven, decked her with angel's wings, and floated her to the extremities of the terraqueous globe. There *was* a time, I say, when the children of Hibernia, forgetting (oh that I could say annihilat-

ing



ing) their *irreligious* feuds and prejudices, undertook the heroic task of her enlargement. They succeeded, for armed liberty is invincible; and as with one hand they dragged from her fair form those unjust and disgraceful chains with which she had been bound, so with one voice, they proclaimed their proud victory to the world.—These were acts of public spirit;—these were acts of public virtue.—That spirit and that virtue may have slept—I think, I trust, they have not died.

*FINIS.*





